CHARLES. I. KING OF ENGLAND. &c.

R. Gaywood fecit

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England's black Tribunal.

Set forth in the

TRYAL

OF

King *CHARLES* I.

By the pretended High Court of Juſtice in *Weſtminſter*-Hall, *Jan.* 20. 1648. Together with his Majeſties Speech, on the Scaffold erected at *White-hall*-Gate, *Tueſday*, *Jan.* 30. 1648.

Alſo a Perfect Relation of the Sufferings, and Death of divers of the Nobility and Gentry, who were Inhumanly Murthered for their Conſtant Loyalty to their Soveraign Lord the King: Together with their Several Dying Speeches: From the year 1642. to 1658. *viz.*

Earl of *Strafford.*
Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury.*
Duke *Hamilton.*
Earl of *Holland.*
Arthur Lord *Capell.*
James Earl of *Derby.*
Marqueſs of *Montroſs.*
Col. *William Sybbald.*
Col. *Euſebius Andrews.*
Col. *John Penruddock.*
Col. *Gerrard.*
Sir *Henry Hyde.*
Sir *Henry Slingsby.*
Col. *John Morris.*
Cor. *Blackburne.*
Cor. *Hugh Grove.*
Dr. *John Hewet.*

The Third Edition Corrected and Enlarged.

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TO THE
READER.

THIS Book was first published in the Year 1659, and reprinted in 1660; since when it has been much enquired after by many of the loyal Nobility, Gentry, and Commonalty of this Kingdom; but the two former Impressions being all light up, I resolved upon a third Impression, as well to gratifie the loyal Desires of those Gentlemen, who daily enquired for them, as also to perpetuate the memory of those worthy Hero's, whose magnanimous and Christian Behaviour in their Sufferings for the Faith of the best Religion, and Loyalty to the best Prince in the World, is here set forth.

In this Edition you will find many of the Speeches much more correct than in the two former, (I having made it my business to procure the exactest Copies extant) especially those of the Archbishop of Canterbury and Colonel Penruddock; and to make this Collection farther compleat, I have here added the Speeches of the Marquess of Montross and Colonel Sybbald.

This Collection but too well deserves the Title of **Englands Black Tribunal**, it being a Black Record of some of the bloody effects of a misguided Zeal, which under the Pretence of Reformation, destroyed the Peace and Glory of this Church and Kingdom, and buried them in a sad confusion, till God of his infinite Goodness (beyond even our hopes) raised both in his Majesties Restoration. And I hope this Memento may serve as a Buoy, to keep such Zealots from splitting the ship of the Common-wealth upon the same Rock again. I shall end all with this good Prayer in the Litany of our Church; From all Sedition, privy Conspiracy, and Rebellion; from all false Doctrine, Heresie, and Schism; from Hardness of Heart, and Contempt of thy Word and Commandments, Good Lord deliver us: So unfeignedly prays

Yours

N. D.

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ENGLAND'S

ENGLAND'S
Black Tribunal,

Set forth in the Tryal of

King *CHARLES* the I.

BEFORE THE

Pretended High Court of Juſtice, in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, begun *Saturday* the 20*th* of *January* 1648.

Officers of the Court.

John Bradſhaw Preſident.
Iſaac Doriſlaw } Councellors who drew up the
Mr. *Aske* } Charge and Aſſiſted.
Mr. *Steel* Attourny General (did not Appear).
Mr. *Cook* Sollicitor General.
Mr. *Broughton* } Clerks of the Court.
Mr. *Phelps* }
Mr. *Dandy* Serjeant at Arms, Mace-bearer.
Coll. *Humphrey* Sword-bearer.
Mr. *Walford*, Mr. *Radley*, Mr. *Pain*, Mr. *Powel*, Mr. *Hull*, Tip-ſtaves and Meſſengers.

The firſt days Proceedings being the 20*th of* January 1648.

ON *Saturday*, being the 20th day of *January* 1648. the Lord *Bradſhaw* Preſident of the High Court of Juſtice, with about ſeventy of the Members of the ſaid Court, having Coll. *Fox*, and ſixteen Gentlemen with

Partizans; and a Sword born by Coll. *Humphrey*, and a Mace by Serj. *Dandy*, with their, and other Officers of the ſaid Court marching before them, came to the place ordered to be prepared for their ſitting, at the Weſt end of the great Hall in *Weſtminſter*, where the Lord Preſident in a Crimſon Velvet Chair, fixed in the midſt of the Court, placed himſelf, having a Desk with a Crimſon Velvet Cuſhion before him. The reſt of the Members placing themſelves on each ſide of him upon the ſeveral Seats, or Benches, prepared and hung with Scarlet for that purpoſe, and the Partizans dividing themſelves on each ſide of the Court before them.

The Court being thus ſet, and ſilence made, the great Gate of the ſaid Hall was ſet open, to the end, that all perſons, without exception, deſirous to ſee, or hear, might come into it; upon which the Hall was preſently filled, and Silence again ordered.

This done, Colonel *Thomlinſon*, who had the charge of the King, as a Priſoner, was commanded to bring him to the Court, who within a quarter of an hours ſpace brought him attended with about twenty Officers with Partizans marching before him, there being Coll. *Hacker* and other Gentlemen, to whoſe care and cuſtody he was likewiſe committed, marching in his Rear.

Being thus brought up within the face of the Court, the Serjeant at Arms, with his Mace, receives and conducts him ſtreight to the Bar, where a Crimſon Velvet Chair was ſet for the King. After a ſtern looking upon the Court, and the people in the Galleries on each ſide of him, he places himſelf, not at all moving his Hat, or otherwiſe ſhewing the leaſt reſpect to the Court, but preſently riſes up again, and turns about, looking downwards upon the Guards placed on the left ſide, and on the multitude of Spectators on the right ſide of the ſaid great Hall. After Silence made among the people, the Act of Parliament, for the Trying of *CHARLES STUART* King of *England*, was read over by the Clerk of the Court; who ſate on one ſide of the Table covered with a rich Turkey Carpet, and placed at the feet of the ſaid Lord Preſident, upon which Table was alſo laid the Sword and Mace.

After reading the ſaid Act, the ſeveral names of the Commiſſioners were called over, every one who was preſent, riſing up, and anſwering to his Call.

The

The King having again placed himſelf in his Chair, with his face towards the Court, Silence being again ordered, the Lord Preſident ſtood up, and ſaid;

Preſident. *CHARLES STUART*, King of *England*; The Commons of *England* Aſſembled in Parliament, being deeply ſenſible of the Calamities that have been brought upon this Nation, (which is fixed upon you, as the principal Author of it) have reſolved to make inquiſition for Blood; and according to that Debt and Duty they owe to Juſtice, to God, the Kingdom, and themſelves, and according to the Fundamental power that reſts in themſelves, They have reſolved to bring you to Tryal and Judgment; and for that purpoſe have conſtituted this High Court of Juſtice, before which you are brought.

This ſaid, Mr. *Cook* Solicitor General for the Commonwealth (ſtanding within a Bar on the right hand of the King) offered to ſpeak, but the King having a Staff in his hand, held it up, and laid it upon the ſaid Mr. *Cook's* ſhoulder two or three times, bidding him hold: Nevertheleſs, the Lord Preſident ordering him to go on, he ſaid,

Cook. My Lord, I am commanded to charge *Charles Stuart*, King of *England*, in the name of the Commons of *England*, with Treaſon and high Miſdemeanors; I deſire the ſaid Charge may be read,

The ſaid Charge being delivered to the Clerk of the Court, the Lord Preſident ordered it ſhould be read, but the King bid him hold; Nevertheleſs, being commanded by the Lord Preſident to read it, the Clerk begun.

The Charge of the Commons of *England* againſt *CHARLES STUART* King of *England*, of High Treaſon, and other High Crimes, exhibited to the High Court of Juſtice.

THat the ſaid Charles Stuart, *being admitted King of* England, *and therein truſted with a Limited Power, to govern by, and according to the Laws of the Land, and not otherwiſe; And by his Truſt, Oath, and Office, being obliged to uſe the power committed to him, for the good and benefit of the people, and for the preſervation of their Rights and Liberties; Yet nevertheleſs, out of a wicked Deſign, to erect, and uphold in himſelf an unlimited and Tyrannical power to rule according to his Will, and to overthrow the Rights and Liberties of the People; Yea, to take away and make void the Foundations thereof, and of all redreſs and remedy of miſ-government, which by the fundamental Conſtitutions of this Kingdom, were reſerved on the peoples behalf, in the Right and Power of frequent and ſucceſſive Parliaments, or National meetings in Councel; He, the ſaid* Charles Stuart, *for accompliſhment of ſuch his Deſigns, and for the protecting of himſelf and his Adherents, in His, and their wicked Practices, to the ſame end, hath traiterouſly and maliciouſly levied War againſt the Parliament, and the people therein repreſented.*

Particularly, upon or about the thirtieth day of June, *in the year of our Lord, One thouſand ſix hundred forty and two, at* Beverley *in the County of* York; *and upon or about the thirtieth day of* July, *in the year aforeſaid, in the County of the City of* York; *and upon or about the twenty fourth day of* Auguſt, *in the ſame year, at the County of the Town of* Nottingham, *(when, and where he ſet up his Standard of War): And upon or about the twenty third day of* October, *in the ſame year, at* Edge-hill, *and* Keinton-field, *in the County of* Warwick; *and upon or about the thirtieth day of* November, *in the ſame year at* Brainford *in the County of* Middleſex: *And upon or about the thirtieth day of* Auguſt, *in the year of our Lord,*

Lord, One thouſand ſix hundred forty and three, at Caveſham-bridge *near* Reding, *in the County of* Berks; *and upon or about the thirtieth day of* October, *in the year laſt mentioned, at or near the City of* Glouceſter; *and upon or about the thirtieth day of* November, *in the year laſt mentioned, at* Newbery, *in the County of* Berks; *and upon or about the one and thirtieth day of* July, *in the year of our Lord One thouſand ſix hundred forty and four, at* Cropredy-bridge *in the County of* Oxon; *and upon, or about the thirtieth day of* September, *in the laſt year mentioned, at* Bodmin, *and other places near adjacent, in the County of* Cornwall, *and upon or about the thirtieth day of* November, *in the laſt year mentioned, at* Newbery *aforeſaid: And upon or about the eighth of* June, *in the year of our Lord, One thouſand ſix hundred forty and five, at the Town of* Leiceſter: *and alſo upon the fourteenth day of the ſame month, in the ſame year, at* Naſeby-field, *in the County of* Northampton. *At which ſeveral times and places, or moſt of them, and at many other places in this Land, at ſeveral other times, within the years aforementioned: And in the year of our Lord, One thouſand ſix hundred forty and ſix: He the ſaid* CHARLES STUART, *hath cauſed and procured many thouſands of the Free-people of the Nation to be ſlain; and by Diviſions, Parties, and Inſurrections, within this Land, by Invaſions from Forraign parts endeavoured and procured by him, and by many other evil ways, and means, He the ſaid* CHARLES STUART, *hath not only maintained and carried on the ſaid War, both by Land and Sea, during the years before mentioned; but alſo hath renewed, or cauſed to be renewed, the ſaid War againſt the Parliament, and good people of this Nation, in this preſent year, One thouſand ſix hundred forty and eight, in the Counties of* Kent, Eſſex, Surrey, Suſſex, Middleſex, *and many other Counties and places in* England *and* Wales, *and alſo by Sea: and particularly, He the ſaid* CHARLES STUART *hath for that purpoſe, given Commiſſion to his Son the Prince, and others; whereby, beſides multitudes of other perſons, many ſuch, as were by the Parliament intruſted and imployed for the ſafety of the Nation, being by him or his Agents, Corrupted, to the betraying of their Truſt, and revolting from the Parliament, have had entertainment and Commiſſion, for the continuing and renewing of War and Hoſtility, againſt the ſaid Parliament and people, as aforeſaid. By which cruel and unnatural Wars by Him the ſaid* CHARLES STU-

STUART, *levyed, continued, and renewed, as aforeſaid, much Innocent Blood of the Free-people of this Nation hath been ſpilt, many Families have been undone, the publick Treaſury waſted and exhauſted, Trade obſtructed, and miſerably decayed; vaſt expence and damage to the Nation incurred, and many parts of the Land ſpoyled, ſome of them even to deſolation.*

And for further proſecution of his ſaid evil Deſigns, He, the ſaid CHARLES STUART, *doth ſtill continue his Commiſſions to the ſaid Prince, and other Rebels and Revolters both Engliſh and Forraigners, and to the Earl of* Ormond, *and to the* Iriſh *Rebels and Revolters aſſociated with him: From whom further Invaſions upon this Land are threatned upon the procurement, and on the behalf of the ſaid* CHARLES STUART.

All which wicked Deſigns, Wars, and evil Practices of Him, the ſaid CHARLES STUART, *have been, and are carried on, for the advancing and upholding of the perſonal Intereſt of Will and Power, and pretended Prerogative to Himſelf and his Family, againſt the publick Intereſt, Common Right, Liberty, Juſtice, and Peace of the People of this Nation, by, and for whom he was entruſted, as aforeſaid.*

By all which it appeareth, that He, the ſaid CHARLES STUART, *hath been, and is the Occaſioner, Author, and Contriver of the ſaid Unnatural, Cruel and Bloody Wars, and therein guilty of all the Treaſons, Murthers, Rapines, Burnings, Spoils, Deſolations, Dammage, and Miſchief to this Nation, acted or committed in the ſaid Wars, or occaſioned thereby.*

And the ſaid John Cook, *by proteſtation (ſaving on the behalf of the People of* England, *the Liberty of exhibiting at any time hereafter, any other Charge againſt the ſaid* CHARLES STUART, *and alſo of replying to the Anſwers which the ſaid* CHARLES STUART *ſhall make to the premiſes, or any of them, or any other Charge that ſhall be ſo exhibited) doth for the ſaid Treaſons and Crimes, on the behalf of the ſaid People of* England, *Impeach the ſaid* CHARLES STUART *as a Tyrant, Traitor, Murtherer, and a public and implacable Enemy to the Commonwealth of* England: *And pray, that the ſaid* CHARLES STUART, *King of* England, *may be put to anſwer All, and Every the Premiſes; That ſuch Proceedings, Examinations, Tryals, Sentence, and Judgment may be hereupon had, as ſhall be agreeable to Juſtice.*

IT is obſerved, that at the time the Charge was reading, the King ſate down in his Chair, looking ſometimes on the Court, ſometimes up to the Galleries, and having riſen again, and turned about to behold the Guards and Spectators, ſat down looking very ſternly with a countenance not at all moved, till theſe words, viz. Charles Stuart *(to be a* Tyrant *and* Traitor, &c.) *were read, at which he laughed as he ſat in the face of the Court.*

Charge being read, the *Lord Preſident* replyed:

Preſident. 'Sir, you have now heard your Charge read, 'containing ſuch matters as appears in it; you find, That in 'the cloſe of it, it is prayed to the Court, in the behalf of 'the *Commons* of *England*, that you Anſwer to your Charge. 'The Court expects your Anſwer.

King. I would know by what Power I am called hither: I was, not long ago, in the *Iſle of Wight*, how I came there, is a longer ſtory than I think is fit at this time for me to ſpeak of; but there I entred into a *Treaty* with both Houſes of *Parliament*, with as much public Faith as 'tis poſſible to be had of any people in the World. I Treated there with a number of Honourable Lords and Gentlemen, and Treated honeſtly and uprightly; I cannot ſay but they did very nobly with me, we were upon a concluſion of the Treaty. Now I would know by what Authority, I mean, lawful; there are many unlawful Authorities in the world, Theeves and Robbers by the high ways; but I would know by what Authority I was brought from thence, and carried from place to place, (and I know not what) and when I know by what lawful Authority, I ſhall Anſwer: Remember I am your King, and what ſins you bring upon your Heads, and the Judgement of God upon this Land. Think well upon it, I ſay, think well upon it, before you go further from one ſin to a greater. Therefore let me know by what lawful Authority I am ſeated here, and I ſhall not be unwilling to anſwer, in the mean time I ſhall not betray my Truſt. I have a Truſt committed to me by God, by old and lawful Deſcent, I will not betray it to anſwer to a new unlawful Authority; therefore reſolve me that, and you ſhall hear more of me.

Preſident. 'If you had been pleaſed to have obſerved 'what was hinted to you by the Court, at your firſt com-

'ing hither, you would have known by what Authority; 'which Authority, requires you, in the name of the peo- 'ple of *England*, of which you are Elected King, to anſwer 'them.

King. No Sir, I deny that.

Preſident. 'If you acknowledge not the Authority of the 'Court, they muſt proceed.

King. I do tell them ſo, *England* was never an Elective Kingdom, but an Hereditary Kingdom for near theſe thouſand years, therefore let me know by what Authority I am called hither: I do ſtand more for the Liberty of my people than any here, that come to be my pretended Judges; and therefore let me know by what lawful Authority I am ſeated here, and I will anſwer it, otherwiſe I will not anſwer it.

Preſident. 'Sir, how really you have managed your Truſt, 'is known: your way of Anſwer is to Interrogate the 'Court; which beſeems not you in this condition. You have 'been told of it twice or thrice.

King. Here is a Gentleman, (Lieut. Coll. *Cobbet*) ask him, if he did not bring me from the *Iſle of Wight* by force? I do not come here as ſubmitting to the Court; I will ſtand as much for the priviledge of the Houſe of Commons, rightly underſtood, as any man here whatſoever. I ſee no Houſe of Lords here that may conſtitute a Parliament, and (the King too) ſhould have been. Is this the bringing of the King to his Parliament? Is this the bringing an end to the Treaty in the public faith of the World? Let me ſee a legal Authority warranted by the Word of God, the Scripture, or warranted by the Conſtitutions of the Kingdom, and I will anſwer.

Preſident. 'Sir, You have propounded a Queſtion, and 'have been anſwered: ſeeing you will not anſwer, the 'Court will conſider how to proceed; in the mean time, 'thoſe that brought you hither, are to take charge of you 'back again.

'The Court deſires to know whether this be all the An- 'ſwer you will give, or no?

King. Sir, I deſire that you would give me, and all the World ſatisfaction in this; let me tell you, it is not a ſlight thing you are about. I am ſworn to keep the Peace by that duty I owe to God and my Country, and I will do it to the

the laſt breath of my body, and therefore you ſhall do well to ſatisfie firſt God, and then the Country, by what Authority you do it; if you do it by an uſurped Authority, that will not laſt long. There is a God in Heaven that will call you, and all that give you power, to account: Satisfie me in that, and I will anſwer, otherwiſe I betray my truſt, and the Liberties of the people, and therefore think of that, and then I ſhall be willing. For I do avow, that it is as great a ſin to withſtand lawful Authority, as it is to ſubmit to a Tyrannical, or any other ways unlawful Authority; and therefore ſatisfie God, and me, and all the World in that, and you ſhall receive my Anſwer: I am not afraid of the Bill.

Preſident. 'The Court expects you ſhould give them a 'final Anſwer, their purpoſe is to adjourn till *Monday* next, 'if you do not ſatisfie your ſelf, though we do tell you our 'Authority; we are ſatisfied with our Authority, and it is 'upon God's Authority and the Kingdoms, and that peace 'you ſpeak of will be kept in the doing of Juſtice, and 'that's our preſent work.

King. Let me tell you, if you will ſhew me what lawful Authority you have, I ſhall be ſatisfied: But that you have hitherto ſaid, ſatisfies no reaſonable man.

Preſident. 'That's in our apprehenſion, we think it reaſonable that are your *Judges*.

King. 'Tis not my apprehenſion, nor yours neither, that ought to decide it.

Preſident. 'The Court hath heard you, and you are to be 'diſpoſed of as they have commanded.

Two things were remarkable in this Days proceedings.

1. It is obſerved, That as the Charge was reading againſt the King, the ſilver head of his ſtaff fell off, the which he wondred at, and ſeeing none to take it up, he ſtoop'd for it himſelf, and put it in his pocket.

2. That as the King was going away, he looking with a very auſtere countenance upon the Court, without ſtirring of his Hat, replyed, *Well Sir*, (when the *L. Preſident* commanded the Guard to take him away) and at his going down, he ſaid, *I do not fear that*, (pointing with his ſtaff at the ſword.) The people in the Hall, as he went down the ſtairs

ſtairs cried out, ſome, *God ſave the King*, and ſome for *Juſtice*.

O yes being called, the Court adjourned till *Monday* next, *Jan.* 22. at nine in the morning to the Painted Chamber, and from thence to the ſame place again in *Weſtminſter-Hall*.

Sunday 21. *of January.*

This day *Cromwell*, *Bradſhaw* and the Reſt of the Commiſſioners and Judges kept a Faſt at *Whitehall*; there Preached Mr. *Sprigge*, his Text was, *He that ſheds Man's blood, by Man ſhall his blood be ſhed*: next Mr. *Foxeley*, his Text, *Judge not, leaſt you be judged.* Laſt was Mr. *Hugh Peters*, his Text was, *I will bind their Kings in Chains, and their Nobles in fetters of Iron.*

The Second days Proceedings at the High-Court of Juſtice ſitting in Weſtminſter-Hall, *Monday Jan.* 22. 1648.

O Yes made: Silence commanded. The Court called, and anſwered to their names.

Silence commanded upon pain of impriſonment, and the Captain of the Guard to apprehend all ſuch as make diſturbance.

Upon the King's coming in a ſhout was made.

Command given by the Court to the Captain of the Guard, to fetch and take into his cuſtody thoſe who make any diſturbance.

Mr. *Solicitor.* May it pleaſe your Lordſhip, my Lord Preſident, I did at the laſt Court in the behalf of the Commons of *England*, exhibit and give into this Court a Charge of High Treaſon, and other high Crimes, againſt the Priſoner at the Bar, whereof I do accuſe him in the name of the People of *England*, and the Charge was read unto him, and his Anſwer required. My Lord, he was not then pleaſed to give an Anſwer, but inſtead of anſwering, did there diſpute the Authority of this High Court. My humble Motion to this High Court, in behalf of the People of *England*, is, That the Priſoner may be directed to make a poſitive Anſwer, either by way of Confeſſion or Negation; which

which if he ſhall refuſe to do, that the matter of Charge may be taken *pro confeſſo*, and the Court may proceed according to juſtice.

Preſident. Sir, You may remember at the laſt Court you were told the occaſion of your being brought hither, and you heard a Charge againſt you, containing a Charge of high Treaſon, and other high Crimes, againſt this Realm of *England*; you heard likewiſe that it was prayed in the behalf of the People, that you ſhould give an Anſwer to that Charge, that thereupon ſuch Proceedings might be had, as ſhould be agreeable to Juſtice; you were then pleaſed to make ſome Scruples concerning the Authority of this Court, and knew not by what Authority you were brought hither; you did divers times propound your queſtions, and were as often anſwered, that it was by Authority of the *Commons of England aſſembled in Parliament*, that did think fit to call you to account for thoſe high and capital Miſdemeanors wherewith you were then charged. Since that, the Court hath taken into conſideration what you then ſaid, they are fully ſatisfied with their own Authority, and they hold it fit you ſhould ſtand ſatisfied with it too: and they do require it, that you do give a poſitive and particular Anſwer to this Charge that is exhibited againſt you, they do expect you ſhould either confeſs or deny it; if you deny, it is offered in the behalf of the Nation to be made good againſt you; their Authority they do avow to the whole World, that the whole Kingdom are to reſt ſatisfied in, and you are to loſe no more time, but to give a poſitive Anſwer thereunto.

King. 'When I was here laſt, 'tis true, I made that 'Queſtion, and truly if it were only my own particular 'caſe, I would have ſatisfied my ſelf with the Proteſtation, 'I made the laſt time I was here againſt the Legality of this 'Court, and that a King cannot be tried by any Superiour 'Juriſdiction on Earth; but it is not my caſe alone, it is 'the Freedom and liberty of the people of *England*, and 'do you pretend what you will, I ſtand more for their 'Liberties. For if Power without Law, may make 'Laws, may alter the Fundamental Laws of the King-'dom, I do not know what Subject he is in *England*, 'that can be ſure of his Life, or any thing that he calls 'his own; therefore when that I came here, I did exſpect particular

'particular Reaſons, to know by what Law, what Autho-
'rity you did proceed againſt me here, and therefore I am
'a little to ſeek what to ſay to you in this particular, be-
'cauſe the Affirmative is proved, the Negative often is
'very hard to do: but ſince I cannot perſuade you to do it,
'I ſhall tell you my Reaſons as ſhort as I can.

'My Reaſons why in Conſcience, and the duty I owe to
'God firſt, and my People next, for the preſervation of
'their Lives, Liberties and Eſtates; I conceive I cannot
'anſwer this, till I be ſatisfied of the legality of it.

'All proceedings againſt any man
'whatſoever ———

Here the King would have delivered his Reaſons which is Printed at the end of this days proceeding.

Preſident. Sir, I muſt interrupt you, which I would not do, but that what you do is not agreeable to the proceedings of any Court of Juſtice, you are about to enter into Argument, and diſpute concerning the Authority of this Court, before whom you appear as a Priſoner, and are charged as an high Delinquent; if you take upon you to diſpute the Authority of the Court, we may not do it, nor will any Court give way unto it, you are to ſubmit unto it, you are to give in a punctual and direct Anſwer, whether you will Anſwer to your charge or no, and what your Anſwer is.

King. 'Sir, by your favour, I do not know the forms of
'Law, I do know Law and Reaſon, though I am no Lawyer
'profeſſed, yet I know as much Law as any Gentleman
'in *England*; and therefore (under favour) I do plead for
'the Liberties of the People of *England* more than you do,
'and therefore if I ſhould impoſe a belief upon any man
'without Reaſon given for it, it were unreaſonable; but I
'muſt tell you, That that Reaſon that I have as thus informed, I cannot yield unto it.

Preſident. Sir, I muſt interrupt you, you may not be permitted, you ſpeak of Law and Reaſon, it is fit there ſhould be Law and Reaſon, and there is both againſt you. Sir, the Vote of the Commons of *England* Aſſembled in Parliament, it is the Reaſon of the Kingdom, and they are theſe too that have given that Law, according to which you ſhould have ruled and reigned. Sir, you are not to diſpute our Authority, you are told it again by the Court. Sir, it will be taken notice of, that you ſtand in contempt

tempt of the Court, and your contempt will be recorded accordingly.

King. 'I do not know how a King can be a Delinquent: 'not by any Law that ever I heard of, all men (Delinquents 'or what you will) let me tell you, they may put in De-'murrers againſt any proceedings as legal, and I do de-'mand that, and demand to be heard with my Reaſons, if 'you deny that, you deny Reaſon.

Preſident. Sir, you have offered ſomething to the Court, I ſhall ſpeak ſomething unto you the ſence of the Court; Sir, neither you nor any man are permitted to diſpute that point, you are concluded, you may not demur the Juriſdiction of the Court, if you do, I muſt let you know, that they over-rule your Demurrer, they ſit here by the Authority of the Commons of *England*, and all your Predeceſſors, and you are reſponſible to them.

King. 'I deny that, ſhew me one precedent.——

Preſident. Sir, you ought not to interrupt while the Court is ſpeaking to you, this point is not to be debated by you, neither will the Court permit you to do it; if you offer it by way of Demurrer to the Juriſdiction of the Court, they have conſidered of their Juriſdiction, they do affirm their own Juriſdiction.

King. 'I ſay, Sir, by your favour, that the Commons of '*England* was never a Court of Judicature, I would know 'how they came to be ſo.

Preſident. Sir, you are not to be permitted to go on in that Speech, and theſe Diſcourſes.

Then the Clerk of the Court read as followeth,

CHARLES STUART, *King of* England, *You have been accuſed on the behalf of the People of* England *of High Treaſon, and other high Crimes, the Court have determined, that you ought to anſwer the ſame.*

King. 'I will Anſwer the ſame, as ſoon as I know by 'what Authority you do this.

Preſident. If this be all that you will ſay, then, Gentlemen, you that brought the Priſoner hither, take charge of him back again.

King. 'I do require that I may give in my Reaſons why 'I do not Anſwer, and give me time for that.

Preſident.

Preſident. Sir, 'Tis not for Priſoners to require.

King. 'Priſoners? Sir, I am not an ordinary Priſoner?

Preſident. The Court hath conſidered of their Juriſdiction, and they have already affirmed their Juriſdiction; if you will not Anſwer, we ſhall give order to record your Default.

King. 'You never heard my Reaſons yet.

Preſident. Sir, your Reaſons are not to be heard againſt the higheſt Juriſdiction.

King. 'Shew me that Juriſdiction, where Reaſon is not to be heard.

Preſident. Sir, We ſhew it you here, the Commons of *England*; and the next time you are brought you will know more of the pleaſure of the Court, and it may be, their final determination.

King. 'Shew me wherever the Houſe of Commons was a 'Court of Judicature of that kind.

Preſident. Serjeant, take away the Priſoner.

King. 'Well, Sir, remember that the King is not ſuffe-'red to give his Reaſons for the Liberty and Freedom of all 'his Subjects.

Preſident. Sir, You are not to have liberty to uſe this language: how great a friend you have been to the Laws and Liberties of the people, let all *England* and the World judge.

King. 'Sir, under favour, it was the Liberty, Freedom, 'and Laws of the Subject that ever I took —— defended 'my ſelf with Arms, I never took up Arms againſt the 'People, but for my People and the Laws.

Preſident. The command of the Court muſt be obeyed; no Anſwer will be given to the Charge.

King. 'Well Sir.

Then the Lord Preſident ordered the Default to be recorded, and the Contempt of the Court, and that no Anſwer would be given to the Charge.

And ſo was guarded forth to Sir *Robert Cotton*'s Houſe.

Then the Court adjourned to the Painted Chamber on *Tueſday* at twelve a Clock, and from thence they intend to adjourn to *Weſtminſter-Hall*, at which time all perſons concerned are to give their attendance.

Reſolutions

Reſolutions of the Court at their Meeting in the Painted Chamber.

Lunæ Jan. 22. 1648.

THis day the King being withdrawn from the Bar of the High Court of Juſtice, the Commiſſioners of the ſaid High Court of Juſtice ſate private in the Painted Chamber, and conſidered of the King's carriage upon the Saturday *before, and of all that had then paſſed; and fully approved of what the* Lord Preſident *had done and ſaid in the managing of the buſineſs of that day, as agreeing to their Sence. And perceiving what the King aimed at,* viz. *to bring in queſtion (if he could) the Juriſdiction of the Court, and the Authority thereof, whereby they ſat; and conſidering that in the interim he had not acknowledged them in any ſort to be a Court or his Judges; and through their ſides intended to wound (if he might be permitted) the Supreme Authority of the Commons of* England, *in their Repreſentative the Commons aſſembled in Parliament, after advice with their Counſel, learned in both Laws, and mature deliberation had of the matter.*

Reſolved, *That the King ſhould not be ſuffered to argue the Courts Juriſdiction, or that which conſtituted them a Court, of which debate they had not proper Conuſance, nor could they, being a derivative Judge of that Supreme Court which made them Judges, from which there was no Appeal, and did therefore order and direct,* viz.

Ordered, *That in caſe the King ſhall again offer to diſpute the Authority of the Court, the* Lord Preſident *do let him know, That the Court have taken into conſideration his Demands of the laſt day. and that he ought to reſt ſatisfied with this Anſwer; That the Commons of* England *aſſembled in Parliament have conſtituted this Court, whoſe power may not, nor ſhould be permitted to be diſputed by him.*

That in caſe the King ſhall refuſe to Anſwer or acknowledge the Court, the Lord Preſident *do let him know that the Court will take it as a Contumacy, and that it ſhall be ſo recorded.*

That

That in case he shall offer or answer with a saving, *notwithstanding of his pretended Prerogatives above the jurisdiction of the Court, That the* Lord President *do in the name of the Court refuse his protest, and require his positive Answer, whether he will own the Court or not.*

That in case the King shall demand a Copy of the Charge, that he shall then declare his intention to Answer, and that declaring his intention, a Copy be granted unto him.

That in case the King shall still persist in his contempt, the Lord President *do give command to the Clerk, to demand of the King, in the name of the Court in these words following,* viz.

Charles Stuart *King of* England, *you are accused in the behalf of the People of* England, *of divers high Crimes and Treasons, which Charge hath been read unto you. The Court requires you to give a positive Answer; to confess or deny the Charge, having determined that you ought to Answer the same.*

His Majesties Reasons against the pretended Jurisdiction of the High Court of Justice, which he intended to have delivered on *Monday Jan.* 22. 1648. but was not permitted.

HAving already made my protestations, not only against the illegality of this pretended Court, but also that no earthly Power can justly call Me (who am your King) in question as a Delinquent; I would not any more open my Mouth upon this occasion, more than to refer my self to what I have spoken, were I in this case alone concerned. But the duty I owe to God in the preservation of the true liberty of my People, will not suffer me at this time to be silent: For, how can any free-born Subject of England, *call life, or any thing he possesseth, his own, if Power without Right daily make new, and abrogate the old fundamental Law of the Land? Which I now take to be the present case. Wherefore when I came hither, I expected that you would have endeavoured to have satisfied me, concerning these grounds which hinder me to answer to your pretended impeachment; but since I see that nothing I can say will move you to it (though Negatives are not so naturally proved as Affirmatives) yet I will shew you the Reason why I am confident you cannot judge me, nor indeed the meanest man in* England; *for, I will not (like you)*

you) without ſhewing a Reaſon, ſeek to impoſe a belief upon my Subjects.

* *There is no proceeding juſt againſt any Man, but what is warranted either by God's Laws, or the municipal Laws of the Country where he lives. Now I am moſt confident, this days proceeding cannot be warranted by God's Law, for on the contrary, the authority of obedience unto Kings is clearly warranted, and ſtrictly commanded both in the Old and New Teſtament; which if denyed, I am ready inſtantly to prove: and for the queſtion now in hand, there it is ſaid, That* where the word of a King is there is Power, and who may ſay unto him, what doeſt thou? *Eccl.* 8. 4. *Then for the Law of this Land, I am no leſs confident that no learned Lawyer will affirm that an impeachment can lye againſt the King, they all going in His Name: and one of their Maxi mes is,* That the King can do no wrong. *Beſides, the Law upon which you ground your proceedings, muſt either be old or new: if old, ſhew it; if new, tell what Authority warranted by the fundamental Laws of the Land hath made it, and when. But how the Houſe of Commons can erect a Court of Judicature, which was never one it ſelf (as is well known to all Lawyers) I leave to God and the World to judge: And it were full as ſtrange that they ſhould pretend to make Laws without King or Lords Houſe, to any that have heard ſpeak of the Laws of* England.

* Hereabout the King was ſtopt, and not ſuffer'd to ſpeak any more concerning Reaſon.

And admitting, but not granting, that the people of England's *Commiſſion could grant your pretended Power, I ſee nothing you can ſhew for that; for certainly you never asked the queſtion of the tenth man in the Kingdom; and in this way you manifeſtly wrong even the pooreſt Ploughman, if you demand not his free conſent; nor can you pretend any colour for this your pretended Commiſſion without the conſent, at leaſt of the major part of every man in* England, *of whatſoever quality or condition, which I am ſure you never went about to ſeek; ſo far are you from having it. Thus you ſee that I ſpeak not for my own right alone as I am your King but alſo for the true Liberty of all My Subjects, which conſiſts not in the Power of Government, but in living under ſuch Laws, ſuch a Government, as may give themſelves the beſt aſſurance of their Lives, and propriety of their Goods. Nor in this muſt or do I forget the Priviledges of both Houſes of Parliament, which this days proceedings do not only*

violate, but likewise occasion the greatest breach of their public Faith, that (I believe) ever was heard of, with which I am far from charging the two Houses: for all the pretended crimes laid against Me, bear date long before this late Treaty at Newport, *in which I having concluded, as much as in Me lay, and hopefully expecting the Houses agreement thereunto, I was suddenly surpris'd, and hurried from thence as a prisoner, upon which account I am against my will brought hither; where since I am come, I cannot but to my power defend the ancient Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom, together with my own just Right. Then for any thing I can see, the Higher House is totally excluded; and for the House of Commons, it is too well known that the major part of them are detained or deterred from sitting, so as if I had no other, this were sufficient for me to protest against the lawfulness of your pretended Court. Besides all this, the Peace of the Kingdom is not the least of My thoughts, and what hopes of settlement is there, so long as Power reigns without Rule or Law, changing the whole frame of that Government, under which this Kingdom hath flourished for many hundred years, (nor will I say what will fall out, in case this lawless unjust Proceedings against Me do go on) and believe it, the Commons of* England *will not thank you for this change, for they will remember how happy they have been of late years, under the Reign of Queen* Elizabeth, *the King my Father, and my Self, untill the beginning of these unhappy Troubles; and will have cause to doubt that they shall never be so happy under any new. And by this time it will be too sensibly evident, that the Arms I took up, were only to defend the Fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, against those who have supposed My Power hath totally changed the ancient Government.*

Thus having shewed you briefly the Reasons why I cannot submit to your pretended Authority, without violating the trust which I have from God, for the welfare and liberty of My People; I expect from you either clear Reasons to convince My judgement, shewing Me that I am in an Error (and then truly I will answer) or that you will withdraw your Proceedings.

Wednesday, Thursday and *Fryday*, were spent in a formal Examination of Witnesses.

Wednesday

Wedneſday, January 24. 1648.

THis day it was exſpected that the *High Court of Juſtice* would have met in *Weſtminſter-Hall* about ten of the Clock; but at the time appointed, one of the Uſhers by direction of the Court (then ſitting in the *Painted Chamber*) gave notice to the People there aſſembled, That in regard the Court was then upon the Examination of Witneſſes in relation to preſent affairs, in the *Painted Chamber*, they could not ſit there, but all perſons appointed to be there, were to appear upon further Summons.

The Names of the Witneſſes whoſe ſeveral Depoſitions upon Oath were all to this Effect, That they had ſeen His Majeſty in the Head of His Army with His Sword drawn, and actually in ſeveral Battels, and that he levied Forces and gave Commiſſions, &c.

William Cuthbert *of* Parington *in* Holderneſs *Gent.*
John Bennet *of the County of* York *Glover.*
William Brayne *of* Wixhall *in* Salop *Gent.*
Henry Hartford *of* Stafford *upon* Avon *in* Warwickſhire.
Robert Large *of the Town of* Nottingham *Painter.*
John Penninger *of* Hayner *in* Darbyſhire.
Samuel Lawſon *of* Nottingham *Brewer.*
Thomas Whittington *of* Nottingham *Shoomaker.*
Robert Loads *of* Cottam *in* Nottinghamſhire.
S. Morgan *of* Wellington *in the County of* Salop *Haberdaſher.*
John Thomas *of* Denbigh *Labourer.*
Richard Bromfield *of* London *Merchant.*
William Jones *of* Uſk *in the County of* Monmouth *Labourer.*
David Evans *of* Aburgeny *in the County of* Monmouth.
Diogenes Edwards *of* Carſton *in the County of* Salop *Butcher.*
Giles Grice *of* Wellington *in the County of* Salop.
John Vincent *of* Damorham *in the County of* Wilts.
George Seely *of* London *Shoomaker.*
John Moor *of* Cork *in* Ireland *Gent.*
Thomas Grees *of* Boyſet *in* Northamptonſhire *Labourer.*
Tho. Collins *of* Hanſlop *in the County of* Buckingham *Gent.*
Thomas Read *of* Maidſtone *in* Kent *Gent.*

James Grosby *of* Dublin *in* Ireland.
Sam. Burden *of* Lyncham *in the County of* Wilts.
Michael Potts *of* Sharpſton *in* Northumberland *Vintner.*

Moſt of theſe were Souldiers and bore Arms againſt His Majeſty.

The Third days Proceedings at the High-Court of Juſtice ſitting in Weſtminſter-Hall, *Tueſday, Jan.*23. 1648.

O Yes made. Silence commanded. The Court called. Seventy three perſons preſent.

The King comes in with his Guard, looks with an auſtere countenance upon the Court, and ſits down.

The ſecond O Yes made, and Silence commanded.

Mr. *Cook* Sollicitor General. May it pleaſe your Lordſhip, my Lord *Preſident.*

This is now the third time that by the great grace and favour of this High Court, the Priſoner hath been brought to the Bar, before any iſſue joyned in the Cauſe. *My Lord,* I did at the firſt Court exhibit a Charge againſt him, containing the higheſt Treaſon that ever was wrought upon the Theater of *England*; that a King of *England*, truſted to keep the Law, That had taken an oath ſo to do, That had Tribute paid him for that end, ſhould be guilty of a wicked deſign, to ſubvert and deſtroy our Laws, and introduce an Arbitrary, and Tyrannical Government, in the defiance of the Parliament and their Authority, ſet up his Standard for War againſt his Parliament and People. And I did humbly pray, in the behalf of the People of *England*; that he might ſpeedily be required to make an Anſwer to the Charge.

But, *my Lord*, in ſtead of making any Anſwer, he did then diſpute the Authority of this High Court. Your Lordſhip was pleaſed to give him a further day to conſider, and to put in his Anſwer, which day being yeſterday, I did humbly move, that he might be required to give a direct and poſitive Anſwer, either by denying or confeſſion of it; but (*my Lord*) he was then pleaſed for to demur to the Juriſdiction of the Court, which the Court did then over-rule, and command him to give a direct and poſitive Anſwer. *My Lord*, beſides this great delay of Juſtice, I ſhall now humbly move your

Lord-

Lordſhip for ſpeedy judgment againſt him. *My Lord*, I might preſs your Lordſhip upon the whole, That according to the known Rules of the Law of the Land, That if a priſoner ſhall ſtand as contumacious in contempt, and ſhall not put in an iſſuable plea, Guilty or not Guilty of the Charge given againſt him, whereby he may come to a fair Tryal; That as by an implicite Confeſſion, it may be taken *pro Confeſſo*, as it hath been done to thoſe who have deſerved more favour than the priſoner at the Bar has done: but beſides, *my Lord*, I ſhall humbly preſs your Lordſhip upon the whole Fact; the Houſe of Commons, the Supreme Authority and Juriſdiction of the Kingdom, they have Declared, That it is notorious, That the matter of the Charge is true, as it is in truth (*my Lord*) as clear as Chryſtal, and as the Sun that ſhines at Noon-day; which if your Lordſhip and the Court be not ſatisfied in, I have notwithſtanding, on the People of *England's* behalf, ſeveral witneſſes to produce: And therefore I do humbly pray, and yet I muſt confeſs it is not ſo much I, as the innocent blood that hath been ſhed, the cry whereof is very great for Juſtice and Judgment, and therefore I do humbly pray, that ſpeedy *Judgment* be pronounced againſt the priſoner at the Bar.

Preſident. Sir, you have heard what is moved by the Councel on the behalf of the Kingdom againſt you. Sir, you may well remember, and if you do not, the Court cannot forget, what dilatory dealings the Court hath found at your hands, you were pleaſed to propound ſome Queſtions, you have had your Reſolutions upon them. You were told over and over again, That the Court did affirm their own Juriſdiction: That it was not for you, nor any other man, to diſpute the *Juriſdiction of the Supreme and higheſt Authority of* England, from which there is no appeal, and touching which there muſt be no diſpute; yet you did perſiſt in ſuch carriage, as you gave no manner of obedience, nor did you acknowledge any Authority in them, nor the *High Court, that conſtituted this Court of Juſtice.*

Sir, I muſt let you know from the Court, That they are very ſenſible of theſe delays of yours, and that they ought not, being thus Authorized by the ſupreme *Court of* England, to be thus trifled withal, and that they might in juſtice, if they pleaſed, and according to the Rules of Juſtice take advantage of theſe delays, and proceed to pronounce judg-

ment againſt you, yet nevertheleſs they are pleaſed to give direction, and on their behalfs I do require you, that you make a poſitive Anſwer unto this Charge that is againſt you: Sir, in plain terms, for Juſtice knows no reſpect of perſons, you are to give your poſitive and final Anſwer in plain Engliſh, whether you be guilty or not guilty of theſe Treaſons laid to your Charge.

The King after a little pauſe, ſaid,

'When I was here yeſterday, I did deſire to ſpeak for 'the *Liberties of the People of* England; I was interrupted: I 'deſire to know yet whether I may ſpeak freely or not.

Preſident. Sir, you have had the Reſolution of the Court upon the like Queſtion the laſt day, and you were told, That having ſuch a Charge of ſo high a Nature againſt you, and your Work was, that you ought to acknowledge the juriſdiction of the Court, *And to Anſwer to your Charge.* Sir, if you Anſwer to your Charge, which the Court gives you leave now to do, though they might have taken the advantage of your Contempt, yet if you be able to Anſwer to your Charge, when you have once Anſwered, you ſhall be heard at large, make the beſt Defence you can. But, Sir, I muſt let you know from the Court, as their Commands, that you are not to be permitted to iſſue out into any other diſcourſes, till ſuch time as you have given a poſitive Anſwer concerning the *Matter* that is *charged* upon you.

King. 'For the *Charge* I value it not a Ruſh, it is the *Li-* 'berty of the People of *England* that I ſtand for; for me to 'acknowledge a new *Court*, that I never heard of before, I 'that am your King, that ſhould be an example to all the 'people of *England*, for to uphold Juſtice, to maintain the 'old Laws; indeed I do not know how to do it; you ſpoke 'very well the firſt day that I came here, (on *Saturday*) of 'the Obligations that I had laid upon me by God, to the 'maintenance of *the Liberties of my People:* The ſame Obli- 'gation you ſpake of, I do acknowledge to God that I owe 'to Him, and to my People, to defend, as much as in me 'lies, the ancient Laws of the Kingdom, therefore until 'that I may know that this is not againſt the *Fundamental* '*Laws* of the Kingdom, by your favour, I can put in no 'particular Anſwer: If you will give me time, I will 'then ſhew you my Reaſons why I cannot do it, and 'this

Here being interrupted, he ſaid,

'By your favour, you ought not to interrupt me, how I 'came here, I know not, there's no Law for it, to make 'your King your priſoner: I was lately in a Treaty upon 'the public Faith of the Kingdom, that was the known —— 'the two Houſes of Parliament, that was the Repreſenta-'tive of the Kingdom, and when that I had almoſt made an 'end of the Treaty, then I was hurried away and brought 'hither, and therefore ——————————

Here the *Preſident* interrupted him and ſaid, Sir, you muſt know the pleaſure of the Court.

King. 'By your favour, Sir, ———

Preſident. Nay Sir, by your favour, you may not be permitted to fall into theſe diſcourſes; you appear as a Delinquent, you have not acknowledged the Authority of the Court, the Court craves it not of you, and once more they command you to give your poſitive Anſwer ——— *Clerk,* Do your Duty.

King. 'Duty Sir!

The Clerk reads,

CHARLES STUART, *King of* England, *you are accuſed in the behalf of the Commons of* England *of divers high Crimes and Treaſons, which Charge hath been read unto you; the Court now requires you to give your poſitive and final Anſwer by way of confeſſion, or denyal of the Charge.*

King. 'Sir, I ſay again to you, ſo that I might give ſatis-'faction to the People of *England* of the clearneſs of my pro-'ceedings, not by way of Anſwer, not in this way, but to 'ſatisfie them that I have done nothing againſt that Truſt 'that hath been committed to me, I would do it; but to 'acknowledge a new Court againſt their Priviledges, to 'alter the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom; Sir, you 'muſt excuſe me.

Preſident. Sir, this is the third time that you have publicly diſowned the Court, and put an Affront upon it; how far you have preſerv'd Priviledges of the People, your Actions have ſpoke it; but truly Sir, mens intentions ought to be known by their Actions, you have written your meaning in bloody Characters throughout the whole Kingdom; but Sir, you underſtand the pleaſure of the Court ———

Clerk, Record the default, ——————— and Gentlemen, you that took charge of the Priſoner, take him back again.

King. 'I will only ſay this one word to you, if it were on-'ly my own particular, I would not ſay any more, nor inter-'rupt you.

Preſident. Sir, you have heard the pleaſure of the Court, and you are (notwithſtanding you will not underſtand it) to find that you are before a Court of Juſtice.

Then the King went forth with his Guard, and Proclamation was made, That all perſons who had then appeared, and had further to do at the Court, might depart into the Painted Chamber, to which place the Court did forthwith adjourn, and intended to meet in Weſtminſter-Hall *by ten of the Clock the next morning.*

Cryer. God bleſs the Kingdom of *England.*

The Fourth days Proceedings of the High Court of Juſtice ſitting in Weſtminſter-Hall, *on Saturday the* 27. *of* January, 1648.

The Names of thoſe Perſons that were preſent at the Sentence of the KING to Death.

John Bradſhaw, Preſident.
John Liſle,
William Say,
Oliver Cromwel,
Henry Ireton,
Sir *Hardreſſe Waller*,
Valentine Walton,
Thomas Harriſon,
Edward Whalley,
Thomas Pride,
Iſaac Ewers,
Lord *Gray* of *Groby*,
Sir *John Danvers* Knight,
Sir *Thomas Maleverer* Bar.
Sir *John Bourchier* Knight,
William Heveningham,
Alderman *Pennington*,
William Pureſoy,
Henry Martyn,
John Barkſtead,
John Blackiſton,
Gilbert Millington,
Sir *William Conſtable*, Bar.
Edmond Ludlow,
John Hutchinſon,
Sir *Mich. Liveſey* Bar.
Robert Titchbourne,
Owen Roe,
Robert Lilburn,
Adrian Scroop,
Richard Deane,
John Okey,
John Hewſon,
William Goffe,
Cornelius Holland,
John Carey,
John Jones,
Miles Corbet,
Francis Allin.
Peregrine Pelham,
John Moore,
John Aldred,

Henry

Henry Smith,
Humphrey Edwards,
Gregory Clement,
Thomas Wogan,
Sir *Gregory Norton* Knight,
Edmond Harvy,
John Venn,
Thomas Scot,
Thomas Andrews Alderman,
William Cawly,
Anthony Stapely,
John Downes,
Thomas Horton,
Thomas Hammond,
Nicholas Love,
Vincent Potter,
Auguſtine Garland,
John Dixwel,
George Fleetwood,
Simon Meyne,
James Temple,
Peter Temple,
Daniel Blagrave,
Thomas Waite.

OYes made. Silence commanded. The Court called. Serjeant *Bradſhaw* Lord *Preſident*, in his Scarlet Robe (ſuitable to the work of this day) with 68 other Members of the Court called. As the King came into the Court, in his uſual poſture with his Hat on, a Cry made in the Hall by ſome of the ſoldiers for *Juſtice*, *Juſtice*, and *Execution*.

King. 'I ſhall deſire a word to be heard a little, and I 'hope I ſhall give no occaſion of interruption.

Preſident. You may anſwer in your time, hear the Court firſt.

King. 'If it pleaſe you, Sir, I deſire to be heard, and I ſhall 'not give any occaſion of interruption, and it is only in a 'word, a ſudden judgment: ——————

Preſident. You ſhall be heard in due time, but you are to hear the Court firſt.

King. 'Sir I deſire it, it will be in order to what I believe 'the Court will ſay; and therefore Sir, a haſty judgment is 'not ſo ſoon recalled.

Preſident. Sir, you ſhall be heard before the judgment be given, and in the mean time you may forbear.

King. 'Well Sir, ſhall I be heard before the judgment be 'given?

Preſident. Gentlemen, It is well known to all or moſt of you here preſent, That the Priſoner at the Bar hath been ſeveral times convented and brought before the Court to make anſwer to a charge of Treaſon and other high crimes exhibited againſt him in the name of the People of *England*; to which Charge, being required to anſwer, he hath been ſo far from obeying

Here an Honourable Lady interrupted the Court, ſaying, Not half the People; but ſhe was ſoon ſilenced.

the

the Commands of the Court, by ſubmitting to their Juſtice, as he began to take upon him to offer reaſoning and debate unto the Authority of the Court, and of the higheſt Court that conſtituted them to try and judge him; but being over-ruled in that, and required to make his Anſwer, he was ſtill pleaſed to continue contumacious, and to refuſe to ſubmit or anſwer. Hereupon the Court, that they may not be wanting to themſelves, to the truſt repoſed in them, nor that any mans wilfulneſs prevent juſtice, they have thought fit to take the matter into their conſideration, They have conſidered of the contumacy, and of that confeſſion, which in Law doth ariſe upon that contumacy; They have likewiſe conſidered of the notoriety of the Fact charged upon the Priſoner, and upon the whole matter they are reſolved, and have agreed upon a ſentence to be now pronounced againſt this Priſoner: but now in reſpect he doth deſire to be heard before the Sentence be read and pronounced, the Court hath reſolved that they will hear him; yet, Sir, thus much I muſt tell you before-hand, which you have been minded of at other Courts, That if that you have to ſay be to offer any debate concerning Juriſdiction, you are not to be heard in it, you have offered it formerly, and you have indeed ſtruck at the Root, that is, the Power and *Supreme Authority of the Commons of* England, which this Court will not admit a debate of, and which indeed is an irrational thing in them to do, being a Court that acts upon Authority derived from them, that they ſhould preſume to judge upon their Superiority, from whom there is no Appeal. But, Sir, if you have any thing to ſay in defence of your ſelf concerning the matters charged, the Court hath given me command to let you know they will hear you.

King. 'Since that I ſee that you will not hear any thing 'of debate concerning that which I confeſs I thought moſt 'material for the Peace of the Kingdom, and for the Liber-'ty of the Subject, I ſhall wave it, I ſhall ſpeak nothing to 'it; but only I muſt tell you, That this many a day, all 'things have been taken away from me, but that, that I 'call more dear to me than my Life, which is *My Conſcience* '*and my Honour*; and if I had reſpect to my life more than 'the peace of the Kingdoms, the *Liberty of the Subject*, cer-'tainly I ſhould have made a particular defence for my ſelf, 'for by that at leaſt-wiſe I might have delayed an ugly ſen-

'tence,

'tence, which I believe will paſs upon me; Therefore cer-
'tainly, Sir, as a man that hath ſome underſtanding, ſome
'knowledge of the world, if that my true zeal to my Coun-
'try had not overborn the care that I have of my own pre-
'ſervation, I ſhould have gone another way to work then
'that I have done: Now, Sir, I conceive that an haſty ſen-
'tence once paſt, may be ſooner repented then recalled:
'and truly the ſelf ſame deſire that I have for *the peace of the*
'Kingdom, and the Liberty of the Subject, more then my own par-
'ticular, does make me now at laſt deſire, That having
'ſomething for to ſay that concerns both, I deſire before
'ſentence be given, that I may be heard in the Painted
'Chamber before the Lords and Commons; this delay can-
'not be prejudicial to you, whatſoever I ſay, if that I ſay
'no reaſon, thoſe that here me muſt be Judges, I cannot be
'Judge of that that I have, if it be reaſon, and real for the
'welfare of the Kingdom, and the liberty of the Subject, I am
'ſure on it very well it is worth the hearing; therefore I
'do conjure you, as you love that you pretend, I hope it is
'real, *the liberty of the Subject*, *the peace of the Kingdom*;
'that you will grant Me the hearing, before any Sentence
'be paſſed; I only deſire this, that you will take this into
'your conſideration, it may be you have not heard of it
'before-hand, if you will, I'le retire, and you may think of
'it: but if I cannot get this *liberty*, I do here proteſt, that
'ſo fair ſhews of *liberty and peace* are pure ſhews, and not
'otherwiſe than that you will not hear your KING.

Preſident. Sir, you have now ſpoken?

King. Yes, Sir.

Preſident. And this that you have ſaid is a further declining of the *Juriſdiction of this Court*, which was the thing wherein you were limited before.

King. 'Pray excuſe me, Sir, for my interruption, becauſe
'you miſtake me, it is not a declining of it, you do judge
'me before you hear me ſpeak, I ſay it will not, I do not
'decline it, though I cannot acknowledge the Juriſdiction
'of the Court; yet, Sir, in this give me leave to ſay, I
'would do it though I did not acknowledge it in this, I do
'proteſt it is not the declining of it, ſince I ſay, if that I
'ſay any thing but that that is for the Peace *the Kingdom*,
'and *the liberties of the Subject*, then the ſhame is mine. Now
'I deſire, that you will take this into your conſideration, If
'you will, I'le withdraw. *Preſident.*

Preſident. Sir, this is not altogether new that you have moved unto us, not altogether new to us, though the firſt time in perſon you offered it to the Court: Sir, you ſay you do not Decline the Juriſdiction of the Court.

King. 'Not in this that I have ſaid.

Preſident. I underſtand you well, Sir, but nevertheleſs that which you have offered, ſeems to be contrary to that ſaying of yours; for the Court are ready to give a Sentence: it is not as you ſay, *That they will not hear your King*, for they have been ready to hear you, they have patiently waited your pleaſure, for three Courts together, to hear what you would ſay to the Peoples Charge againſt you, to which you have not vouchſafed to give any anſwer at all; Sir, This tends to a further delay; Truly, Sir, ſuch delays as theſe, neither may the Kingdom, nor Juſtice well bear; You have had three ſeveral days to have offered in this kind what you would have pleaſed; This Court is founded upon that *Authority of the Commons of* England, *in whom reſts the Supreme Juriſdiction*; That which you now tender, is to have another Juriſdiction, and a *co-ordinate Juriſdiction*, I know very well you expreſs your ſelf. Sir, That notwithſtanding that you would offer to the Lords and Commons in the Painted Chamber, yet nevertheleſs you would proceed on here, I did hear you ſay ſo; but, Sir, that you would offer there, what ever it is muſt needs be in delay of the Juſtice here, ſo as if this Court be reſolved, and prepared for the ſentence, this that you offer they are not bound *in* Juſtice to grant; but, Sir, according to that you ſeem to deſire, and becauſe you ſhall know the further pleaſure of the Court upon that which you have moved, the Court will withdraw for a time.

King. 'Shall I withdraw?

Preſ. Sir, you ſhall know the pleaſure of the Court preſently, the Court withdraws for half an hour into the *Court of Wards*.

Serjeant at Arms. The Court gives command that the priſoner be withdrawn, and they give order for his return again.

The Conrt withdraws for half an hour and returns.

Preſident. Serjeant at Arms, ſend for your Priſoner.

Sir, You were pleaſed to make a motion here to the Court, to offer a deſire of yours touching the propounding of ſomewhat to the Lords in the *Painted Chamber* for the Peace of the Kingdom: Sir, you did in effect receive an anſwer be-

'fore

fore the Court adjourned; Truly, Sir, their withdrawing and adjournment was *pro forma tantum*, for it did not ſeem to them that there was any difficulty in the thing; they have conſidered of what you have moved, and have conſidered of their own Authority, which is founded, as hath been often ſaid, upon the *ſupreme Authority of the Commons of* Englan *aſſembled in Parliament*. The Court acts accordingly to their Commiſſion: ir, the return I have to you from the Court, is this, That they have been too much delayed by you already, and this that you now offer hath occaſioned ſome little further delay, and they are JUDGES appointed by the higheſt JUDGES, and *Judges* are no more to delay, than they are to deny Juſtice; they are good words in the old Charter of *England*, *Nulli negabimus*, *nulli vendemus*, *nulli deferemus Juſtitiam*. There muſt be no delay. But the truth is, Sir, and ſo every man here obſerves it, That you have much delayed them in your contempt and default, for which they might have long ſince proceeded to judgment againſt you, and notwithſtanding what you have offered, they are reſolved to proceed to puniſhment, and to judgment, and that is their unanimous reſolution.

King. 'Sir, I know it is in vain for me to diſpute: I am no '*Sceptic* for to deny the power that you have, I know that 'you have power enough; Sir I confeſs I think it would have 'been for the Kingdoms peace, if you would have taken the 'pains for to have ſhown the lawfulneſs of your power; for 'this delay that I have deſired, I confeſs it is a delay, but it 'is a delay very important for the peace of the Kingdom, for 'it is not my perſon that I look on alone, it is the Kingdoms 'wel-fare, and the Kingdoms peace, it is an old Sentence, '*That we ſhould think on long before we have reſolved of great* 'matters *ſuddenly*; Therefore, Sir, I do ſay again, that I do 'put at your doors all the inconveniency of an haſty Sen'tence; I confeſs, I have been here now I think this week, 'this day eight days was the day I came here firſt, but a lit'tle delay of a day or two further, may give peace, whereas 'an *haſty Judgment* may bring on that trouble and perpetual 'inconveniency to the Kingdom, that the child that is un'born may repent it; and therefore again out of the Duty I 'owe to God, and to my Country, I do deſire that I may be 'heard by the Lords and Commons in the *painted Chamber*, or 'any other Chamber that you will appoint me.

Preſident.

Preſident. Sir, you have been already anſwered to what you even now moved, being the ſame you moved before, ſince the Reſolution and the Judgment of the Court in it; and the Court now requires to know whether You have any more to ſay for Your ſelf, then You have ſaid, before they proceed to ſentence.

King. 'I ſay this Sir, That if you will hear me, if you will 'give me but this delay, I doubt not but I ſhall give ſome ſa-'tisfaction to you all here, and to my People after that, and 'therefore I do require you, as you will anſwer it at the 'dreadful day of judgment, That you will conſider it once 'again.

Preſident. Sir, I have received directions from the Court.

King. Well Sir.

Preſident. If this muſt be re-inforc'd, or any thing of this nature, your anſwer muſt be the ſame, and they will proceed to ſentence if you have nothing more to ſay.

King. 'I have nothing more to ſay, but I ſhall deſire that 'this may be entred what I have ſaid.

Preſident. The Court then, Sir, hath ſomething to ſay unto you, which although I know it will be very unacceptable, yet notwithſtanding they are willing, and are reſolved to diſcharge their Duty. Sir, you ſpeak very well of a precious thing that you call Peace, and it had been much to be wiſhed that God put it into your heart, that you had as effectually and really indeavoured and ſtudied the Peace of the Kingdom, as now in words you ſeem to pretend; but as you were told the other day, *Actions muſt expound Intentions*, your actions have been clean contrary; and truly, Sir, it doth appear plainly enough to them, that you have gone upon very erronious principles, the Kingdom hath felt it to their ſmart, and it will be no eaſe to you to think of it; for Sir, you have held your ſelf, and let fall ſuch Language, as if you had been no ways ſubject to the Law, or that the Law had not been your Superior. Sir, the Court is very well ſenſible of it, and I hope ſo are all the underſtanding people of *England, That the Law is your Superior.* That you ought to have ruled according to the Law; you ought to have done ſo Sir: I know very well your pretence hath been that you have done ſo, but Sir, the difference hath been who ſhall be the *Expoſitors of this Law*; Sir, whether you and your party out of *Courts of Juſtice*, ſhall take upon them to expound Law, or the *Courts of Juſtice*, who

who are the expounders, nay, the Soveraign and *the high Court of Juſtice, the Parliament of* England, who are not only *the higheſt expounders*, but *the ſole makers of the Law*. Sir, for you to ſet your ſelf with your ſingle judgment, and thoſe that adhere unto you, againſt *the high Court of Juſtice, that is not Law*. Sir, as the Law is your Superior, ſo truly Sir, there is ſomething that is Superior to the Law, and that is indeed the *Parent or Author of the Law*, and that is *the people of* England. For Sir, as they are thoſe that at the firſt, (as other Countries have done) did chuſe to themſelves the *Form of Government*, even for juſtice ſake, that juſtice might be adminiſtred, that peace might be preſerved; ſo Sir, they gave Laws to their Governors, according to which they ſhould govern; and if thoſe Laws ſhould have proved inconvenient, or prejudicial to the public, they had a power in them, and reſerved to themſelves, to alter as they ſhall ſee cauſe. Sir, it is very true, what ſome of your ſide have ſaid, *Rex non habet parem in Regno*; This Court will ſay the ſame, while *King, That you have not your Peer* in ſome ſence, for you are *Major ſingulis*, but they will aver again, that you are *Minor univerſis*; and the ſame Author tels you, that *in exhibitone juris*, there you have no power, but in *quaſi minimus*,

This we know to be Law, *Rex habet ſuperiorem, Deum & Legem, etiam & Curiam*, and ſo ſays the ſame Author, and truly Sir, he makes bold to go a little further, *Debent ei ponere frænum, They ought to bridle him*; and Sir, we know very well the Stories of old, Thoſe Wars that were called the *Barons Wars*, when the Nobility of the Land did ſtand out *for the liberty and property of the Subject*, and would not ſuffer the Kings that did invade to play the Tyrants freer, but called them to an account for it, we know that truth, That they did *frænum ponere*: But Sir, if they do forbear to do their duty now, and are not ſo mindful of their own Honour and the Kingdoms Good, as the *Barons* of *England* will not be unmindful of what is for their preſervation, and for their ſafety, *Juſtitiæ fruendi cauſa reges conſtituti ſunt*. This we learn the end of having Kings, or any other Governours, it's for the enjoying of Juſtice, that's the end, Now, Sir, if ſo be the King will go contrary to the end of his Government; Sir, he muſt underſtand that he is but an Officer of truſt, and he ought to diſcarge that truſt, and they are to take order for the animadverſion and puniſhment of ſuch an offending Governor.

This

This is not Law of yesterday, Sir, (since the time of the division betwixt you and your People,) but it is Law of old; And we know very well the *Authors* and *Authorities* that do tell us what the Law was in that point upon the election of Kings, upon the *Oath* that they took unto their people, and if they did not observe it, there were those things called Parliaments; The *Parliaments* were they that were to adjudge (the very words of the *Author*) *the plaints wrongs done of the King and Queen, or their Children, such wrong especially, when the people could have no where else any remedy.* Sir, that hath been the People of *England's* case, they could not have their remedy elsewhere but in *Parliament*.

Sir, *Parliaments* were ordained for that purpose, to redress the grievances of the People, that was their main end; and truly, Sir, if so be that the Kings of *England* had been rightly mindful of themselves, they were never more in *Majesty and State* than in the *Parliament:* But how forgetful some have been, *stories* have told us; We have a miserable, a lamentable, a sad experience of it, Sir, by the old Laws of *England*; I speak these things the rather to you, because you were pleased to let fall the other day, you thought you had so much knowledge in the Law, as most Gentlemen in *England*, it is very well Sir, And truly, Sir, it is very good for the Gentlemen of *England* to understand that Law under which they must live, and by which they must be Governed. And then, Sir, the *Scripture* says, *They that know their Masters will and do it not*, what follows. The Law of your Master, the Acts of *Parliament.*

The *Parliaments* were to be kept anciently we find in our author twice in the year, *That the Subject upon any occasion, might have a ready remedy, and redress for his Grievance.* Afterwards, by several acts of *Parliament* in the days of your Predecessor *Edward* the third, they must have been once a year; Sir, what intermission of *Parliaments* hath been in your time, it is very well known, and the sad consequence of it, and what in the interim instead of these Parliaments hath been by you by an high and *Arbitrary* hand introduced upon the People, that likewise hath been too well known and felt. But when God by his providence had so brought it about, that you could no longer decline the calling of a Parliament; Sir, yet it will appear what your ends were against the Ancient, and your Native Kingdom of *Scotland:* The *Parliament* of *England*,

land, not ſerving your ends againſt them, you were pleaſed to diſſolve it. Another great neceſſity occaſioned the calling of this Parliament, and what your Deſigns and Plots and Endeavours all along have been for ruining and confounding of this Parliament, hath been very notorious to the whole Kingdom; And truly, Sir, in that you did ſtrike at all that had been a ſure way to have brought about this, that lies upon you, *Your intention to ſubvert the Fundamental Laws of this Land:* For the great Bulwark of *liberty of the People* is the PARLIAMENT of *England*; and to Subvert and Root up that, which your aim hath been to do, certainly at one blow you had confounded the Liberties and the Propriety of *England*.

Truly, Sir, it makes me call to mind, cannot forbear to expreſs it, for, Sir, we muſt deal plainly with you, according to the Merits of your Cauſe, ſo is our Commiſſion, it makes me call to mind (theſe Proceedings of yours) that we read of a great *Roman Emperour*, by the way let us call him *a great Roman Tyrant*, Caligula, *that wiſht that the People of* Rome *had had but one Neck, that at one blow he might cut it off:* and your Proceedings have been ſomewhat like to this, for the body of the People of *England* hath been (and where elſe) preſented both in the Parliament, and could you have but confounded that, you had at one blow cut off the Neck of *England:* but God hath reſerved better things for us, and hath pleaſed to confound your Deſigns, and to break your Forces, and to bring your Perſon into Cuſtody, that you might be reſponſible to Juſtice.

Sir, we know very well, That it is a Queſtion on your ſide very much preſt, *by what Precedent we ſhall proceed?* Truly, Sir, for Precedents, I ſhall not upon theſe occaſions inſtitute any long diſcourſe, but it is no new thing to cite Precedents almoſt of all *Nations*, where the People (when Power hath been in their hands) have been made bold to call their Kings to account, and where the change of *Government* hath upon occaſions of the *Tyranny* and *Miſ-government* of thoſe that have been placed over them; I will not ſpend time to mention *France* or *Spain*, or the Empire, or other Countries, Volumes may be written of them; but truly, Sir, that of the Kingdom of *Aragon*, I ſhall think ſome of us have thought upon it, when they have the Juſtice of *Aragon*, That is a man *tenquam in medio poſitus*, betwixt the King of *Spain*, and the People of the Country, that if wrong be done by the King, he that is the King of *Aragon*, the Juſtice hath power to reform the

wrong, and he is acknowledged to be the King's Superior, and is the grand preſerver of their priviledges, and hath proſecuted Kings upon their miſcarriages.

Sir, What the Tribunes of *Rome* were heretofore, and what the *Ephori* were to the *Lacedæmonian State*; we know that is the Parliament of *England* to the *Engliſh State*; and though *Rome* ſeem to have loſt its *liberty* when once the Emperors were, yet you ſhall find ſome famous Acts of Juſtice even done by the Senate of *Rome*, that great *Tyrant* of his time, *Nero*, condemned and judged by the *Senate*. But truly, Sir, to you I ſhould not mention theſe Foreign examples and ſtories. If we look but over *Tweed*, we find enough in your native Kingdom of *Scotland*. If we look to your firſt King *Fergusſtus*, that your ſtories make mention of, he was an elective King, he died, and left two Sons, both in their minority, the Kingdom made choice of their Uncle his Brother to Govern in the minority; afterwards the elder Brother giving ſmall hopes to the People that he would Rule or Govern well, ſeeking to ſupplant that good Uncle of his, that governed then juſtly, they ſet the Elder aſide, and took to the Younger. Sir, if I ſhould come to what your ſtories make mention of, you know very well you are the 109 King of *Scotland*; for to mention ſo many Kings as that Kingdom, according to their Power and Priviledge, have made bold to deal withal, ſome to Baniſh, and ſome to Impriſon, and ſome to put to Death, and as one of your Authors ſays, it would be too long to recite the manifold examples that your own ſtories make mention of; *Reges* (ſay they) we do create, we created Kings at firſt, *Leges*, &c. we impoſed Laws upon them; and as they are choſen by the ſuffrages of the People at the firſt, ſo upon juſt occaſion, by the ſame ſuffrages, they may be taken down again: and we will be bold to ſay, That no Kingdom hath yielded more plentiful experience than that your Native Kingdom of *Scotland* hath done concerning the depoſition, and the puniſhment of their offending and tranſgreſſing Kings, &c.

It is not far to go for an example near you, your Grandmother ſet aſide, and your Father an Infant Crowned; and the State did it here in *England*, here hath not been a want of ſome Examples, they have made bold (the Parliament and the People of *England*) to call their Kings to account, there are frequent Examples of it in the *Saxons* time, the time before the Conqueſt: ſince the Conqueſt there wants not ſome Precedents neither, King *Edw.*II. and *Rich.*II. were dealt with

ſo

ſo by the Parliament, as they were depoſed and deprived: and truly, Sir, who ever ſhall look into their Stories, they ſhall not find the Articles that are charged upon them to come near to that height and capitalneſs of Crimes that are laid to your Charge, nothing near.

Sir, you were pleaſed to ſay the other day, wherein they diſſent, and I did not contradict it, but take altogether: Sir, if you were as the Charge ſpeaks, and no otherwiſe admitted King of *England*, but for that you were pleaſed than to alledge, how that almoſt for a thouſand years theſe things have been, ſtories will tell you, if you go no higher then the time of the Conqueſt; if you do come down ſince the Conqueſt, you are the 24 King from *William* called the Conqueror, you ſhall find one half of them to come meerly from the State, and not meerly upon the point of Deſcent; it were eaſie to be inſtanced to you, the time muſt not be loſt that way. And truly, Sir, what a grave and learned Judge ſaid in his time, and well known to you, is ſince Printed for poſterity, *That although there was ſuch a thing as a Deſcent many times, yet the Kings of* England *ever held the greateſt aſſurance of their titles, when it was declared by Parliament:* And, Sir, your *Oath*, the manner of your *Coronation* doth ſhew plainly, That the Kings of *England*, and though it's true by the Law the next perſon in blood is deſigned; yet if there were juſt cauſe to refuſe him the People of *England* might do it. For there is a *Contract* and *Bargain* made between the *King* and his *People*, and your *Oath* is taken; and certainly, Sir, the Bond is reciprocal; for as you are the liege Lord, ſo they liege Subjects, and we know very well that hath been ſo much ſpoken of, *Ligantia eſt duplex.* This we know now, the one tye, the one bond, is the bond of Perfection which is due from the Soveraign, the other is the bond of Subjection that is due from the Subject. Sir, if this bond be once broken, farewel Soveraignty, *Subjectio trahit, &c.*

Theſe things may not be denyed, Sir, I ſpeak it the rather, and I pray God it may work upon your heart, that you may be ſenſible of your miſcarriages. For whether you have been, as by your Office you ought to be, *a Protector of* England, or *the Deſtroyer of* England, let all *England* judge, or all the world that hath look'd upon it. Sir, though you have it by *Inheritance* in the way that is ſpoken of, yet it muſt not be denyed that your Office was an Office of Truſt, and an Office of the higheſt Truſt lodged in any ſingle perſon: For as you were the grand *Adminiſtrator of Juſtice*, and others were as your *Dele-*

gates, to ſee it done throughout your Realms, if your great Office were to do Juſtice, and preſerve your People from wrong, and in ſtead of doing that, you will be the *great wrong-doer your ſelf*; If, in ſtead of being a *Conſervator of the Peace*, you will be a *Grand diſturber of the Peace*, ſurely this is contrary to your Office, contrary to your Truſt. Now, Sir, if it be an Office of *Inheritance*, as you ſpeak of your Title by *Deſcent*, let all men know that great Offices are ſeiſable and forfeitable as if you had it but for a year, and for your life; Therefore, Sir, it will concern you to take into your ſerious conſideration your great miſcarriages in this kind.

Truly, Sir, I ſhall not particularize the many miſcarriages of your Reign whatſoever, they are famouſly known, it had been happy for the Kingdom, and happy for you too, if it had not been ſo much known, and ſo much felt, as the ſtory of your miſcarriages muſt needs be, and hath been already.

Sir, That that we are now upon by the command of the *higheſt Court*, hath been and is to Try and Judge you for great offences of *Yours*. Sir, the *Charge* hath called you *Tyrant, a Traytor, a Murtherer, and a public Enemy to the Commonwealth of* England. Sir, it had been well, if that any of all theſe terms might rightly and juſtly have been ſpared, if any one of them at all.

King. Ha!

Preſident. Truly, Sir, we have been told, *Rex eſt dum bene regit, tyrannus qui populum opprimit*; and if ſo be that be the definition of a Tyrant, then ſee how you come ſhort of it in your Actions, whether the higheſt Tyrant by that way of Arbitrary Government, and that you have ſought to introduce, and that you have ſought to put, you were putting upon the People, whether that was not as high an Act of Tyranny as any of your Predeceſſors were guilty of, nay many degrees beyond it.

Sir, the term Traytor cannot be ſpared, we ſhall eaſily agree it muſt denote and ſuppoſe a breach of Truſt, and it muſt ſuppoſe it to be done by a Superior; and therefore, Sir, as the People of *England* might have incurred that, reſpecting you if they had been truly guilty of it, as to the definition of Law: ſo on the other ſide, when you did break your Truſt to the Kingdom, you did break your Truſt to your Superior: For the Kingdom is that for which you were truſted: And therefore, Sir, for this breach of Truſt, when you are called to account, you are called to account by your Superiors. *Minimus ad Majorem in judicium vocat.* And, Sir, the *People of* England cannot be ſo far wanting to themſelves, which God having dealt

dealt ſo miraculouſly and glorioufly for, they having power in their hands, and their great Enemy, they muſt proceed to do Juſtice to themſelves and to you: For, Sir, the Court could heartily deſire, That you would lay your hand upon your heart, and conſider what you have done amiſs: That you would endeavour to make your peace with God. Truly, Sir, theſe are your high Crimes, Tyranny and Treaſon.

There is a third thing too, if thoſe had not been, and that is Murther, which is laid to your charge. All the bloody murthers that have been committed ſince this time that the Diviſion was betwixt you and your People, muſt be laid to your Charge, that have been acted or committed in theſe late Wars. Sir, it is an heinous and crying ſin; and truly, Sir, if any man will ask us what puniſhment is due to a Murtherer, let God's Law, let Man's Law, ſpeak. Sir, I will preſume that you are ſo well read in Scripture, as to know what God himſelf hath ſaid concerning *the ſhedding of Man's blood*, Gen. 9. Num. 35. will tell you what the puniſhment is, and which this Court in behalf of the Kingdom are ſenſible of, that innocent blood that has been ſhed, whereby indeed the Land ſtands ſtill defiled with that blood, and as the Text hath it, *It can no way be cleanſed but with the ſhedding of the blood of him that ſhed this blood.* Sir, we know no Diſpenſation from this blood in that Commandment, *Thou ſhalt do no murder*; we do not know but that it extends to Kings, as well as to the meaneſt Peaſants, the meaneſt of the People, the command is univerſal. Sir, God's Law forbids it, Man's Laws forbid it, nor do we know that there is any manner of exception, not even in Man's Laws, for the puniſhment of Murther in you. 'Tis true, that in the caſe of Kings, every private hand was not to put forth it ſelf to this work for their Reformation and puniſhment: But, Sir, the people repreſented having power in their hands, had there been but one wilful act of Murther by you committed, had power to have convented you, and to have puniſhed you for it.

But then, Sir, the weight that lies upon you in all thoſe reſpects that have been ſpoken, by reaſon your *Tyranny*, *Treaſon*, *breach of Truſt*, and the Murthers that have been committed, ſurely, Sir, it muſt drive you into a ſad conſideration concerning your eternal condition: as I ſaid at firſt, I know it cannot be pleaſing to you to hear any ſuch things as theſe are mentioned unto you from this Court, for ſo we do call our ſelves, and juſtifie our ſelves to be a Court, and a *High Court*

of Juſtice, authorized by the higheſt and ſolemneſt Court of the Kingdom, as we have often ſaid; and although you do yet endeavour what you may to diſ-court us, yet we do take knowledge of our ſelves to be ſuch a Court as can adminiſter Juſtice to you, and we are bound, Sir, in duty to do it. Sir, all I ſhall ſay before the reading of your Sentence, it is but this: the Court does heartily deſire, that you will ſeriouſly think of thoſe evils that you ſtand guilty of. Sir, you ſaid, well to us the other day, you wiſht us to have God before our eies. Truly, Sir, I hope all of us have ſo, that God that we know is a *King* of *Kings*, and *Lord* of *Lords*, that God with whom there is no reſpect of perſons, that God that is the avenger of innocent blood, we have that God before us, that God that does beſtow a curſe upon them that withhold their hands from ſhedding of blood, which is the caſe of guilty Malefactors, and that do deſerve death; That God we have before our eies: and were it not that the conſcience of our duty, hath called unto this place, and this imployment, Sir, you ſhould have had no appearance of a Court here: but, Sir, we muſt prefer the diſcharge of our duty unto God, and unto the Kingdom, before any other reſpect whatſoever: and although at this time many of us, if not all of us, are ſeverely threatned by ſome of your party, what they intend to do, Sir, we do here declare, That we ſhall not decline, or forbear the doing of our duty in the adminiſtration of Juſtice even to you, according to the merit of your offence, although God ſhould permit thoſe men to effect all that bloody deſign in hand againſt us. Sir, we ſhall ſay, and we will declare it, as thoſe Children in the fiery Furnace, that would not worſhip the golden Image that *Nebuchadnezzar* had ſet up, *That there God was able to deliver them from that danger that they were near unto*; but yet if he would not do it, yet notwithſtanding that they would not fall down and worſhip the Image: we ſhall thus apply it, That though we ſhould not be delivered from thoſe bloody hands and hearts that conſpire the overthrow of the Kingdom in general, of us in particular, for acting in this great work of Juſtice, though we ſhould periſh in the work, yet by God's grace, and by God's ſtrength, we will go on with it: And this is all our Reſolutions. Sir, I ſay for your ſelf, we do heartily wiſh and deſire, that God would be pleaſed to give you a ſenſe of your ſins, that you would ſee wherein you have done amiſs, that you may cry unto him; that God would deliver you from blood-guiltineſs. A good King was once guilty of that parti-

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cular thing, and was clear otherwiſe, ſaving in the matter of *Uriah*. Truly, Sir, the ſtory tells us, that he was a repentant King, and it ſignifies enough that he had died for it, but that God was pleaſed to accept of him, and to give him his pardon, *Thou ſhalt not die, but the Child ſhall die*; *thou haſt given cauſe to the enemies of God to blaſpheme.*

King. 'I would deſire only one word before you give Sen-'tence, and that is. That you would hear me concerning thoſe 'great imputations that you have laid to my Charge.

Preſident. Sir, you muſt give me leave to go on, for I am not far from your *Sentence*, and your time is now paſt.

King. 'But I ſhall deſire you will hear me a few words to 'you, for truly what ever *Sentence* you will put upon me, in 'reſpect of thoſe heavy *imputations* I ſee by your ſpeech you 'have put upon me, that, Sir, it is very true that ———

Preſident. Sir, I muſt put you in mind, Truly, Sir, I would not willingly at this time eſpecially, interrupt you in any thing you have to ſay, that is proper for us to admit of; but, Sir, you have not owned us as a Court, and you look upon us as a ſort of people met together, and we know what Language we receive from your party.

King. 'I know nothing of that.

Preſident. You diſ-avow us as a *Court*, and therefore for you to addreſs your ſelf to us, not to acknowledge us as a Court to judge of what you ſay, it is not to be permitted; and the *truth* is, all along from the firſt time, You were pleaſed to diſ-avow and diſown us. the Court needed not to have heard You one word; for unleſs they be acknowledged a Court, and engaged, it is not proper for you to ſpeak: *Sir*, we have given you too much liberty already, and admitted of too much delay, and we may not admit of any further; were it proper for us to do, we ſhould hear you freely, and we ſhould not have declined to have heard you at large, what you could have ſaid or proved on your behalf, whether for totally excuſing, or for in part excuſing thoſe great and hainous Charges, that in whole or in part are laid upon you. But, Sir, I ſhall trouble you no longer, your ſins are of ſo large a dimenſion, that if you do but ſeriouſly think of them, they will drive you to a ſad conſideration, they may improve in you a ſad and ſerious repentance. And that the Court doth heartily wiſh that you may be ſo penitent for what you have done amiſs, that God may have mercy at leaſtwiſe upon your better part. Truly, Sir, for the other it is our parts and duties to do that, that the Law pre-

ſcribes, we are not here *jus dare*, but *jus dicere*; we cannot be unmindful of what the Scripture tells us. For *to acquit the guilty, is of equal abomination as to condemn the innocent*, we may not acquit the guilty: what Sentence the Law affirms to a Traitor, Tyrant, a Murtherer, and a public Enemy to the Country, that Sentence you are now to hear read unto you, and that is the Sentence of the Court.

The Lord *Preſident* commands the Sentence to be read. Make an O Yes, and command ſilence while the Sentence is read.

O Yes made, ſilence commanded.

The Clerk read the Sentence, which was drawn up in parchment.

Whereas the Commons of England *in Parliament have appointed them an high Court of Juſtice for the Trying of* Charles Stuart *King of* England, *before whom he had been three times convented, and at firſt time a charge of high Treaſon, and other crimes and miſdemeanors was read in the behalf of the Kingdom of* England, &c.

Here the Clerk read the Charge.

Which Charge being read unto him as aforeſaid, He the ſaid *Charles Stuart*, was required to give his Anſwer, but he refuſed ſo to do, and ſo expreſt the ſeveral paſſages at his Tryal in refuſing to anſwer.

For all which Treaſons and Crimes, this Court doth adjudge, That the ſaid Charles Stuart, *as a Tyrant, Traytor, Murtherer, and a public Enemy, ſhall be put to death, by the ſevering his Head from his Body.*

After the Sentence read, the Lord *Preſident* ſaid,

This Sentence now read and publiſhed, it is the Act, Sentence, Judgment, and reſolution of the whole Court.

Here the Court ſtood up, and aſſented to what the *Preſident* ſaid.

King. 'Will you hear me a word Sir?

Preſident. Sir, you are not to be heard after the Sentence.

King. 'No Sir?

Preſident. No Sir, by your favour Sir: Guard, withdraw your Priſoner.

King. I may ſpeak after the *Sentence* ——

By your favour Sir, I may ſpeak after the *ſentence* ever.

By your favour (hold) the *ſentence* Sir —— I ſay, Sir, I do —— I am not ſuffered for to ſpeak, expect what Juſtice other people will have.

O Yes, All manner of perſons that have any thing elſo to

do,

do, are to depart at this time, and to give their attendance in the Painted Chamber, to which place this Court doth forthwith adjourn it ſelf.

Then the Court roſe, and the King went with his Guard to Sir *Robert Cottons*, and from thence to *Whitehall*.

His Majeſty being taken away by the Guard, as he paſſed down the ſtairs, an inſolent Souldier ſcoffed at him, caſting the ſmoak of his Tobacco (a thing moſt diſtaſtful to him) in his Face: And one more Inſolent than the reſt ſpit in his Face, His Majeſty according to his Heroic patience took no more notice but wip'd it off with his Handkerchief.

As he paſſed through the Guards he heard ſome of the Rabble crying out *Juſtice, Juſtice.*

His Majeſty reply'd, *A laſs poor Souls! for a piece of Money they will do ſo for their Commanders.*

Ordered that Sir Hardreſs Waller, *Coll.* Harriſon, *Com. Gen.* Ireton, *Coll.* Dean, *and Coll.* Okey, *are appointed a Commitee to conſider of the time and place for the Execution of the King, according to his Sentence given by the High Court of Juſtice.*

Painted Chamber, Lunæ, Jan. 29. 1648.

UPon report made from the Committee for conſidering of the time and place for the executing of the Judgment againſt the King: that the ſaid Committee have reſolved that the open Street before *Whitehall* is a fit place: And that the ſaid Committee conceive it fit, that the King be there executed the morrow, the King having already notice thereof; The Court approved thereof, and ordered a Warrant to be drawn for that purpoſe, which Warrant was accordingly drawn and agreed unto, and ordered to be ingroſſed, which was done, and Signed and Sealed accordingly, as followeth.

The Warrant for beheading the King.

At the High Court of Juſtice for the Trying and Judging of Charles Stuart *King of* England, January 29. 1648.

WHereas Charles Stuart *King of* England, *is, and ſtandeth Convicted, Attainted and Condemned of High Treaſon, and other high Crimes, and Sentence upon* Saturday *laſt was pronounced againſt him by this Court, to be put to Death by the ſevering of his Head from his Body; of which Sentence, Execution yet remains to*

be

be done: Theſe are therefore to will and require you to ſee the ſaid Sentence Executed in the open Street before Whitehall, *upon the morrow, being the* 30 *day of this inſtant month of* January, *between the hours of ten in the Morning, and five in the Afternoon of the ſame day, with full effect; And for ſo doing, this ſhall be your ſufficient Warrant. And theſe are to require all Officers and Souldiers, and other the good People of this* Nation *of* England, *to be aſſiſting unto you in this ſervice.*

Given under our Hands and Seals,

To Coll. *Francis Hacker*, Coll. *Hunks*, and Lieut. Coll. *Phray*, and to every of them:

Sealed and ſubſcribed by

J. Bradſhaw, O. Cromwell, Hen. Ireton, Har. Waller, Jo. Liſle, Val. Walton, Tho. Gray, Ed. Whalley, Mich. Leveſey, J. Okey, Jo. Danvers, Tho. Maleverer, Will. Goffe, Tho. Pride, Tho. Harriſon, Jo. Hewſon, Ri. Dean, Rob. Tichborn, Ow. Roe, Jo. Barkſtead, G. Fleetwood, Gil. Millington, Tho. Horton, W. Say, W. Conſtable, Miles Corbet, Jo. Ven, Hen. Martin, &c.

Painted Chamber, *Jan.* 30. 1648.

The Commiſſioners met, and ordered, That Mr. *Marſhal*, Mr. *Nye*, Mr. *Caryll*, Mr. *Salway*, and Mr. *Dell*, be deſired to attend the King to adminiſter to him thoſe Spiritual helps, as ſhould be ſuitable to his preſent condition, and Lieut. Coll. *Goffe* is deſired forthwith to repair unto them for that purpoſe.

Who did ſo, but after informed the Court, That the King being acquainted therewith, refuſed to confer with them, expreſſing that he would not be troubled with them.

Ordered, That the Scaffold upon which the King is to be executed, be covered with black.

The Warrant for executing the King being accordingly delivered to thoſe parties to whom the ſame was directed, Execution was done upon him according to the tenour of the Warrant about two of the Clock in the Afternoon of the ſaid 30 of *January*.

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Other passages relating to the King before Execution.

SAturday night *January* 27. the King lodged at *Whitehall*, and that evening a Member of the Army acquainted the Committee with the desires of the King, that seeing they had passed Sentence of Death upon him, and the time of his Execution might be nigh, that he might see his Children, and receive the Sacrament, and that Doctor *Juxon* Bishop of *London*, might be admitted to pray with him in his private Chamber; both which were granted.

The next day, being Sunday, *January* 28. the King was attended by his Guard to St. *James*'s, where the Bishop of *London* preached privately before him, his Text was in *Rom.* 2. 16. *In the day when God shall judge the secrets of all Men by Jesus Christ, according to my Gospel.*

Monday, *Jan.* 29. His Children were permitted to come to him, where passed this following Discourse, as it was set down in writing by his Daughter the Lady *Elizabeth* (which Lady *Elizabeth* some months after, being confined to *Carisbrook-Castle* in the Isle of *Wight* died there with grief for the sufferings of her dear Father.)

A true Relation of the *King*'s Speech to the Lady *Elizabeth* and the Duke of *Gloucester*, the day before His Death.

HIS *Children being come to meet him, He first gave his Blessing to the Lady* Elizabeth, *and bad her remember to tell her Brother* James, *when ever she should see him, that it was his Fathers last desire that he should no more look upon* Charles *as his eldest Brother only, but be obedient unto him as his Soveraign; and that they should love one another, and forgive their Fathers Enemies. Then said the King to her, Sweet-heart, you'l forget this: No (said she) I shall never forget it whilest I live; and pouring forth abundance of tears, promised him to write down the particulars.*

Then the King taking the Duke of Glocester *upon his Knee, said, Sweet-heart, now they will cut off thy Fathers Head (upon which words the Child looking very stedfastly on him) Mark Child what I say, They will cut of my Head, and perhaps make thee a King: But mark what I say, you must not be a King, so long as your*

your Brothers Charles *and* James *do live; for they will cut off your Brothers Heads (when they can catch them) and cut off thy Head too at last: and therefore I charge you do not be made a King by them. At which the Child sighing, said, I will be torn in pieces first: which falling so unexpectedly from one so young, it made the King rejoyce exceedingly.*

Another Relation from the Lady *Elizabeth*'s own Hand.

WHat the King said to me the 29 *of* Jan. 1648. *being the last time I had the happiness to see Him, He told me He was glad I was come, and although He had not time to say much, yet somewhat He had to say to me which He had not to another, or leave in writing, because he feared their cruelty was such, as that they would not have permitted Him to write to me. He wished me not to grieve and torment my self for Him, for that would be a glorious death that He should die, it being for the Laws and Liberties of this Land, and for maintaining the true Protestant Religion. He bid me read Bishop* Andrew's *Sermons,* Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Policy, and Bishop* Laud's *Book against* Fisher, *which would ground me against Popery. He told me, He had forgiven all His Enemies, and hoped God would forgive them also; and commanded us, and all the rest of my Brothers and Sisters, to forgive them. He bid me tell my Mother, that His thoughts never strayed from Her, and that His love should be the same to the last. Withal, He commanded me and my Brother to be obedient to Her, and bid me send His blessing to the rest of my Brothers and Sisters, with commendation to all His Friends. So after He had given me his blessing I took my leave.*

Further, He commanded us all to forgive those People, but never to trust them; for they had been most false to Him, and to those that gave them power; and He feared also to their own Souls: and desired me not to grieve for Him, for He should die a Martyr, and that He doubted not but the Lord would settle His Throne upon His Son, and that we should be all happier than we could have expected to have been, if He had lived; with many other things, which at present I cannot remember.

ELIZABETH.

The

The King's Speech and Deportment on the Scaffold.

TUeſday, *Jan.* 30. (The Fatal day) He was about Ten of the Clock, brought from his Palace at St. *James's* to *Whitehall*, marching on foot (guarded with a Regiment of foot Soldiers) through the Park, with their Colours flying, and Drums beating, his private Guard of Partizans about him, Dr. *Juxon* Biſhop of *London* on one ſide, and Col. *Tomlinſon* on the other, both bare headed, bidding them go faſter, ſaying, *That he now went before them to ſtrive for an heavenly Crown with leſs ſolitude, than he had oftentimes bid his Soldiers to fight for an earthly Diadem.* Being come to the end of the Park, he aſcends the ſtairs, leading to the long Gallery in *Whitehall*, and ſo into the *Cabinet-chamber*, where he formerly uſed to lodge; there his Majeſty, with the Biſhop of *London*, continued for ſome time in Devotion, and received the bleſſed Sacrament from the hand of the ſaid Biſhop; at which time he read for the ſecond Leſſon, the 27th *Chap.* of St. *Matthew*'s Goſpel, which contained the Hiſtory of the Death and Paſſion of our Bleſſed Saviour; the Communion ended, his Majeſty thanked the Biſhop for ſelecting ſo ſeaſonable and comfortable a portion of Scripture. The Biſhop modeſtly replied, no thanks was due to him, for it was the *Chapter* appointed by the *Rubrick* of the Church for the ſecond Morning Leſſon, for that day, being *Jan.* 30. here the King continued at his Devotion, refuſing to dine, only about twelve of the clock, he eat a bit of *Bread*, and drank a Glaſs of *Claret*, from thence, about one a clock, he was accompanied by Dr. *Juxon* and Col. *Tomlinſon*, and other Officers formerly appointed to attend him, and the private Guard of Partizans, with Musketeers on each ſide, through the Banquetting-houſe, adjoyning to which the Scaffold was erected, between *Whitehall*-Gate, and the Gate leading into the Gallery from St. *James's*: The Scaffold was hung round with black, the Floor covered with black Bayes, and the Ax and Block laid in the middle of the Scaffold. There were divers Companies of Foot of Col. *Pride*'s Regiment, and ſeveral Troops of Horſe placed on the one ſide of the Scaffold towards *King's-ſtreet*, and on the other ſide toward *Charing-Croſs*, and the multitudes of People that came to be Spectators very great. The King being come upon the Scaffold, it was expected he would ſay ſomewhat to the People, the which he did.

The

The King being come upon the Scaffold, look'd very earneſtly upon the Block, and asked Col. *Hacker*, If there were no higher? and then ſpake thus, (directing his Speech chiefly to Col. *Thomlinſon.*)

King. I *Shall be very little heard of any body, I ſhall therefore ſpeak a word unto you here: indeed I could hold my peace very well, if I did not think that holding my peace would make ſome men think, that I did ſubmit to the guilt, as well as to the puniſhment, but I think it is my duty to God firſt, and to my Country, for to clear my ſelf both as an honeſt Man, a good King, and a good Chriſtian. I ſhall begin firſt with* Innocency: *In troth, I think it not very needful for me to inſiſt long upon this, for all the World knows that I never did begin a War with the two Houſes of Parliament, and I call God to witneſs, to whom I muſt ſhortly make an account, That I never did intend for to incroach upon their Priviledges, they began upon me, it was the* Militia *they began upon; they confeſt that the* Militia *was mine, but they thought it fit for to have it from me: and to be ſhort, if any body will look to the Dates of Commiſſions, of their Commiſſions and mine, and likewiſe to the Declarations, will ſee clearly that they began theſe unhappy Troubles, not I: ſo that the guilt of theſe Enormous Crimes that are laid againſt me, I hope in God, that God will clear me of, I will not, I am in Charity, God forbid that I ſhould lay it upon the two Houſes of Parliament, there is no neceſſity of either, I hope they are free of this guilt: for I do believe that ill Inſtruments between them and me, has been the chief cauſe of all this blood-ſhed: ſo that by way or ſpeaking, as I find my ſelf clear of this, I hope (and pray God) that they may too: yet for all this, God forbid that I ſhould be ſo ill a Chriſtian as not to ſay that God's Judgments are juſt upon me: Many times he does pay Juſtice by unjuſt Sentence, that is ordinary. I will only ſay this, That unjuſt Sentence* * Strafford. *that I ſuffered for to take effect is puniſhed now by an unjuſt Sentence upon me, that is ſo. This I have ſaid, to ſhew you that I am an innocent man.*

Now for to ſhew you that I am a good Chriſtian: I hope there is a good man that will bear me witneſs, That I have * Pointing to Dr. *Juxon.* *forgiven all the World, and even thoſe in particular, that have been the chief cauſers of my death; who they are, God knows, I do not deſire to know, I pray God forgive them. But this is not all, my Charity*

Charity must go further, I wish that they may repent, for indeed they have committed a great sin in that particular. I pray God with St. Stephen, *that this be not laid to their charge, nay not only so, but that they may take the right way to the peace of the Kingdom; for my Charity commands me, not only to forgive particular men, but my Charity commands me to endeavour to the last gasp the Peace of the Kingdom. So (Sir) I do wish with all my soul, (* and I do hope there is some that will carry it further) that they may endeavour the Peace of the Kingdom.*

* Turning to some Gentlemen that wrote.

Now (Sirs) I must shew you both how you are out of the way, and will put you in the way: first, you are out of the way, for certainly all the way you ever have had yet as I could find by any thing is in the way of conquest; certainly this is an ill way: for Conquest (Sir) in my opinion is never just, except there be a good just Cause, either for matter of Wrong, or just Title, and then if you go beyond it, the first Quarrel that you have to it, is it that makes it unjust at the end that was just at first: But if it be only matter of Conquest, then it is a great Robbery, as a Pirat said to Alexander, *that he was the great Robber, he was but a petty Robber: and so, Sir, I do think the way that you are in, is much out of the way. Now, Sir, for to put you in one way, believe it you will never do right, nor God will ever prosper you, until you give God his due, the King his due (that is, my Successors) and the People their due: I am as much for them as any of you: You must give God his due, by regulating rightly his Church (according to his Scriptures) which is now out of order: For to set you in a way particularly now I cannot, but onely this,* A National Synod freely called, *freely debating among themselves, must resolve this: when that every Opinion is freely and clearly heard.*

For the King, indeed I will not (then turning to a Gentleman (Mr. *Clark*, who wrote) that touched the Ax, said, * *Hurt not the Ax that may hurt me.*) *For the King, the Laws of the Land will clearly instruct you for that, there-*

* Meaning if he did blunt the edge.

therefore, because it concerns my own particular, I only give you a touch of it.

For the People: and truly I desire their Liberty and Freedom as much as any body whosoever, but I must tell you, That their Liberty and Freedom consists in having of Government, those Laws by which their Lives and their Goods may be most their own. It is not for having share in Government (Sir) that is nothing pertaining to them; A Subject and a Soveraign are clean different things, and therefore until they do that, I mean, That you do put the People in that Liberty as I say, certainly they will never enjoy themselves.

Sir, It was for this that now I am come here: If I would have given way to an Arbitrary way, for to have all Laws changed according to the Power of the Sword, I needed not to have come here, and therefore I tell you (and I pray God it be not laid to your charge) That I am the Martyr of the People.

In troth, Sirs, I shall not hold you much longer, for I will onely say this to you, that in truth I could have desired some little time longer, because I would have put this that I have said in a little more order, and a little better digested than I have done, and therefore I hope you will excuse me.

I have delivered my Conscience. I pray God that you do take those courses that are best for the good of the Kingdom, and your own Salvations.

Dr. *Juxon.* Will your Majesty say somewhat as to your Religion, for though your Majesty's Affections to Religion, may be well known to your Servants, yet it may be expected that you should say somewhat for the World's satisfaction.

King. *I thank you very heartily, my Lord, for that I had almost forgotten it. In troth, Sirs, My Conscience in Religion I think it is very well known to all the World, and therefore I declare before you all, That I dye a Christian, according to the Profession of the Church of* England, *as I found it left me by my Father, and this honest Man* * *I think will witness it.* Then turning to the

* Pointing to Dr. *Juxon.*

'*the Officers ſaid*, Sirs, excuſe me for this ſame, I have a 'good cauſe, and I have a gracious God, I will ſay no more. '*Then turning to Colonel* Hacker, *he ſaid*; Take care they 'do not put me to pain, and Sir, this, and it pleaſe you. '*But then a Gentleman coming near the Ax, the King ſaid*, 'Take heed of the Ax, pray take heed of the Ax. *Then* 'the King *ſpeaking to the Executioner, ſaid*, I ſhall ſay but ve-'ry ſhort prayers, and when I thruſt out my hands———

Then the King called to Doctor *Juxon* for his Nightcap, and having put it on, he ſaid to the Executioner, *Does my hair trouble you?* who deſired him to put it all under his cap, which the King did accordingly by the help of the Executioner and the Biſhop: then the King turning to Doctor *Juxon* ſaid, *I have a good cauſe and a gracious God on my ſide.*

Doctor *Juxon.* There is but one Stage more, this Stage is turbulent and troubleſome, it is a ſhort one: But you may conſider, it will ſoon carry you a very great way; it will carry you from earth to heaven; and there you ſhall find a great deal of cordial joy and comfort.

King. *I go from a corruptible to an incorruptible Crown; where no diſturbance can be, no diſturbance in the world.*

Doctor *Juxon.* You are exchanged from a Temporal to an Eternal Crown, a good exchange.

The King then ſaid to the executioner, Is my hair well? Then the King took off his Cloak and his George, giving his George to Doctor *Juxon*, ſaying, Remember*.

Then the King put off his Doublet, and being in his Waſtcoat, put his cloak on again, then looking upon the block, ſaid to the executioner, *You muſt ſet it faſt.*

* *It is thought for to give it to the Prince.*

Executioner. It is faſt, Sir.

King. *When I put my hands out this way, ſtretching them out, then*———

After that, having ſaid two or three words (as he ſtood) to himſelf, with hands and eyes lift up; Immediately ſtooping down, laid his neck upon the Block: and then the Executioner again putting his hair under his Cap, the King ſaid (thinking he had been going to ſtrike) Stay for the ſign.

Executioner. Yes, I will and it pleaſe your Majeſty.

And after a very little pauſe, the King ſtretching forth his hands, the Executioner at one blow ſevered his head

from his body; the head being off, the Executioner held it up, and shewed it to the people; which done, it was with the Body put in a Coffin covered with black Velvet for that purpose and conveyed into his Lodgings there: And from thence it was carried to his house at Saint *James's* where his body was embalmed, and put in a Coffin of Lead, laid there a fortnight to be seen by the people; and on the Wednesday sevennight after, his Corps embalmed and coffined in Lead, was delivered chiefly to the care of four of his Servants, *viz.* Mr. *Herbert*, Captain *Anthony Mildmay*, his Sewers; Captain *Preston*, and *John Joyner*, formerly Cook to his Majesty; they attended with others, cloathed in mourning Suits and Cloaks, accompanied the Herse that night to *Windsor*, and placed it in that which was formerly the Kings Bed-chamber; next day it was removed into the *Deans Hall*, which Room was hanged with black, and made dark, with Lights burning round the Herse; in which it remained till three in the Afternoon, about which time came the Duke of *Lenox*, the Marquess of *Hertford*, the Marquess of *Dorchester*, the Earl of *Lindsey*, having obtained an order from the Parliament, for the Decent enterrment of the King their royal Master, provided the expence thereof exceeded not five hundred pounds: at their coming into the Castle, they shewed their order of Parliament to Colonel *Whichcott* Governour of the Castle, desiring the Enterment might be in St. *George's* Chappel, and by the form in the Common prayer Book of the Church of *England*; this request was by the Governour denyed, saying it was improbable that the Parliament would permit the use of what they had so solemnly abolished, and therein destroy their own Act. To which the Lords replyed, there is a difference betwixt destroying their own Act, and dispensing with it, and that no Power so binds in own hands, as to disable it self in some cases: all could not prevail, the Governour persisting in the negative. The Lords betook themselves to the search of a convenient place, for the Burial of the Corps, the which after some pains taking therein, they discover a Vault in the middle of the Quire, wherein, as is probably conjectured, lyeth the body of King *Henry* the eighth, and his beloved Wife the Lady *Jane Seamor*, both in Coffins of Lead; in this Vault there being Room for one more, they resolve to interr the body

body of the King, the which was accordingly brought to the place, born by the Officers of the Garriſon, the four Corners of the Velvet Pall born up by the aforeſaid four Lords, the pious Biſhop of *London* following next, and other perſons of Quality; the body was committed to the earth with ſighs and tears, eſpecially of the Reverend Biſhop, to be denyed to do the laſt Duty and Service to his Dear and Royal Maſter; the Velvet Pall being caſt into the Vault, was laid over the Body; upon the Coffin were theſe words ſet,

KING CHARLES, 1648.

His Majeſties Prayers in the time of his reſtraint.

A Prayer in time of Captivity.

O Powrful and Eternal God! to whom nothing is ſo great that it may reſiſt, or ſo ſmall, that it is contemned; look upon My Miſery with Thine eye of Mercy, and let Thine infinite power vouchſafe to limit out ſome proportion of deliverance unto Me, as to Thee ſhall ſeem moſt convenient; let not Injury, O Lord, triumph over Me; and let My faults by Thy hand be corrected; and make not My unjuſt enemies the miniſters of thy Juſtice: But yet My God, if In thy Wiſdom this be the apteſt chaſtiſement for my unexcuſable tranſgreſſions; if this ingrateful bondage be fitteſt for My over-high deſires; if the pride of My (not enough humble) heart be thus to be broken, O Lord, I yield unto Thy will, and cheerfully embrace what ſorrow Thou wilt have Me ſuffer: Only this much let Me crave of Thee, (Let My craving, O Lord, be accepted of, ſince it even proceeds from Thee) that by Thy goodneſs which is Thy ſelf, Thou wilt ſuffer ſome beam of Thy Majeſty ſo to ſhine in My mind, that I, who acknowledge it My Nobleſt Title to be Thy Creature, may ſtill in My greateſt Afflictions depend confidently on Thee. Let Calamity be the exerciſe, but not the overthrow of My Virtue. O let not their prevailing power be to My deſtruction. And if it be Thy will that they more and more vex me with puniſhment; yet, O Lord, never let their wickedneſs have ſuch a hand, but that I may ſtill carry a pure mind, and ſtedfaſt reſo-

lution ever to ſerve Thee, without fear or preſumption, yet with that humble Confidence which may beſt pleaſe Thee; ſo that at the laſt I may come to Thy eternal Kingdom, through the Merit of Thy Son our alone Saviour Jeſus Chriſt. Amen.

A Prayer and Confeſſion made in, and for the times of Affliction.

ALmighty and moſt merciful Father, as it is only Thy goodneſs that admits of Our imperfect Prayers, and the knowledge that Thy mercies are infinite, which can give Us any hope of Thy accepting, or granting them; ſo it is our bounden and neceſſary duty to confeſs our ſins freely unto Thee; and of all men living, I have moſt need, moſt reaſon ſo to do, no man having been ſo much obliged by Thee, no man more grievouſly offending Thee: that degree of knowledge which Thou haſt given Me, adding likewiſe to the guilt of My tranſgreſſions. For was it through ignorance, that I ſuffered innocent blood to be ſhed by a falſe pretended way of Juſtice? or that I permitted a wrong way of thy worſhip, to be ſet up in Scotland? *and injured the Biſhops in* England? *O no; but with ſhame and grief I confeſs, that I therein followed the perſwaſion of worldly wiſdom, forſaking the Dictates of a right informed Conſcience: wherefore, O Lord, I have no excuſe to make, no hope left, but in the multitude of Thy mercies; for I know My repentance weak, and My prayers faulty: Grant therefore merciful Father, ſo to ſtrengthen My repentance, and amend My prayers, that Thou mayeſt clear the way for Thine own mercies, to which O let Thy juſtice at laſt give place, putting a ſpeedy end to my deſerved afflictions. In the mean time, give Me Patience to endure, Conſtancy againſt Temptations, and a diſcerning ſpirit, to chuſe what is beſt for thy Church and People which thou haſt committed to My Charge. Grant this, O moſt merciful Father, for thy Son Jeſus Chriſts ſake, our only Saviour.* Amen.

A Prayer in time of imminent Danger.

O Moſt merciful Father, though My ſins are ſo many and grievous, that I may rather expect the effects of Thy anger, than ſo great a deliverance, as to free Me from My preſent

grea

great danger; yet, O Lord, since Thy mercies are over all thy works, and Thou never failest to relieve all those who with humble and unfeigned repentance come to Thee for succour, it were to multiply, not diminish My transgressions to despair of Thy heavenly favour: wherefore I humbly desire Thy Divine Majesty, that Thou wilt not only Pardon all My sins, but also free Me out of the hands, and protect Me from the malice of My cruel Enemies. But if Thy wrath against My hainous Offences will not otherways be satisfied, than by suffering Me to fall under My present afflictions, Thy will be done; yet with humble Importunity, I do and shall never leave to implore the assistance of Thy heavenly Spirit, that My cause, as I am Thy Vicegerent, may not suffer through My weakness or want of courage. O Lord, so strengthen and enlighten all the faculties of My mind, that with clearness I may shew forth Thy Truth, and manfully endure this bloody Trial, and so My sufferings here may not only glorifie Thee, but likewise be a furtherance to My salvation hereafter. Grant this, O merciful Father, for his sake who suffered for Me, even Jesus Christ the Righteous. Amen.

An Elegie on the Sufferings and Death of King Charles I.

COme, come, let's Mourn; all Eyes that see this *Day*,
Melt into Showrs, and Weep your selves away:
O that each private head could yield a Flood
Of Tears, whil'st *Britain's Head* streams out His Blood;
Could we pay what His *Sacred Drops* might claim,
The World must needs be drowned once again.
Hands cannot write for trembling; Let our Eye
Supply the Quill, and shed an *Elegy*.
Tongues cannot speak; this Grief knows no such vent,
Nothing but Silence can be eloquent.
Words are not here significant; in This
Our Sighs, our Groans bear all the *Emphasis*.
Dread Sir! What shall we say? *Hyperbole*
Is not a Figure, when it speaks of *Thee*:
Thy *Book* is our best Language; what to this
Shall e're be added, is thy *Meiosis*:

Thy *Name's a Text* too hard for us: no men
Can write of it, without *Thy Parts* and *Pen*.
Thy *Priſons*, *Scorns*, *Reproach* and *Poverty*
(Though theſe were thought too courteous Injury)
How could'ſt Thou bear? Thou Meeker *Moſes*, how?
Was ever *Lion* bit with *Whelps* till now
And did not roar? Thou *England's David*, how
Did *Shimei's* tongue not move Thee? Where's the Man?
Where is the *King? Charles* is all *Chriſtian*.
Thou never wanted'ſt Subjects, no; when they
Rebell'd, thou mad'ſt thy Paſſions to obey.
Had'ſt thou regain'd thy Throne of State by Power,
Thou hadſt not then been more a *Conqueror*.
But Thou, thine own *Souls Monarch*, art above
Revenge and Anger, Can'ſt thou tame thy Love?
How could'ſt thou bear thy *Queens* Divorce? muſt She
At once thy *wife*, and yet thy *Widow* be?
Where are thy tender *Babes* once Princely bred,
Thy choiceſt Jewels, are they *Sequeſtred?*
Where are thy Nobles? Lo, in ſtead of theſe
Baſe ſavage Villains, and thine Enemies:
Egyptian Plague! 'twas only *Pharaoh's* doom
To ſee ſuch Vermin in His Lodging-room.
What Guards are ſet, what watches do they keep?
They do not think thee ſafe though lock't in *Sleep*.
Would they confine thy Dreams within to dwell,
Nor let thy Fancy paſs their *Centinel?*
Are thy *Devotions* dangerous? or do
Thy *Prayers* want a Guard? theſe faulty too?
Varlets, 'twas only, when they ſpake for You.
But lo, a charge is drawn, a Day is ſet,
The ſilent *Lamb* is brought, the *Wolves* are met.
Law is arraign'd of Treaſon, *Peace* of War,
And *Juſtice* ſtands a Priſoner at the Bar.
This *Scene* was like the *Paſſion Tragedie*,
His *Saviours Perſon* none could act but He.
Behold what *Scribes* were here, what *Phariſees!*
What *bands of Souldiers!* What *falſe Witneſſes!*
Here was a *Prieſt*, and that a *Chief* one; who
Durſt ſtrike at *God*, and his *Vicegerent* too.
Here *Bradſhaw*, *Pilate* there: this makes them twain,
Pilate for *Fear*, *Bradſhaw* condemn'd for *Gain*.

Wretch

Wretch! couldſt not thou be rich, till *Charles* was dead!
Thou might'ſt have took the *Crown*, yet ſpar'd the *Head*.
Th' haſt juſtifi'd that *Roman* Judge; He ſtood
And waſht in *Water*, thou haſt dipt in *Blood*.
And where's the ſlaughter-Houſe? *White-hall* muſt be,
Lately His *Palace*, now His *Calvarie*.
Great *Charles*, is this Thy Dying place? And where
Thou wert our *King*, art thou our *Martyr* there?
Thence, thence thy Soul take flight; and there will we
Not ceaſe to *Mourn*, where thou did'ſt ceaſe to *Be*.
And thus, bleſt Soul, He's gone: a *Star*, whoſe fall,
As no *Eclipſe* proves *Oecumenical*.
That Wretch had *skill* to ſin, whoſe Hand did know
How to behead three Kingdoms at one blow.
England hath loſt the Influence of her *King*,
No wonder that ſo backward was Her *Spring*.
O diſmal *Day!* but yet how quickly gon?
It muſt be ſhort, Our *Sun* went down at *Noon*.
And now, ye *Senators*, is this the thing
So oft declar'd? Is this your *Glorious King?*
Did you by *Oaths* your God and Countrie mock,
Pretend a *Crown*, and yet prepare a *Block?*
Did you, that ſwore you'd Mount *Charles* higher yet,
Intend the *Scaffold* for His *Olivet?*
Was this, *Hale Maſter?* Did you bow the knee
That you might murther him with *Loyaltie?*
Alas! two Deaths! what cruelty was this?
The *Ax* deſign'd, you might have ſpar'd the *Kiſs*.
London, did'ſt thou Thy Princes Life betray?
What? could thy *Sables* vent no other way?
Or elſe did'ſt thou bemoan His *Croſs?* then ah!
Why would'ſt thou be the curſed *Golgotha?*
Thou once hadſt Men, Plate, Arms, a Treaſurie
To *bind* thy *King*, and haſt thou none to *free?*
Dull beaſt! thou ſhould'ſt before thy *Head* did fall,
Have had at leaſt thy Spirits *Animal*.
Did You, Ye *Nobles*, envy *Charles* His *Crown?*
Jove being faln, the *Punie-gods* muſt down.
Your Raies of *Honour* are eclip'ſt in Night,
The *Sun* is ſet, from whence You drew your *Light*.
Religion veils her ſelf; and Mourns that She
Is forc'd to own ſuch horrid Villanie.

The *Church* and *State* do ſhake; the Building muſt
Expect to fall, whoſe *Prop* is turn'd to *Duſt*.
But ceaſe from Tears. *Charles* is of light bereav'n;
And ſnuft on *Earth* to ſhine more bright in *Heaven*.

The Dying Speeches of ſeveral of the Nobility and Gentry, who ſuffer'd for their Loyalty to his Late Sacred Majeſty King Charles I.

The Speech of the Earl of Strafford *Lord Deputy of* Ireland *at his Tryal in* Weſtminſter-*Hall, Immediately before the Sentence* May 4. 1641.

MY Lords! There yet remains another Treaſon, that I ſhould be guilty of; the endeavouring to ſubvert the fundamental Laws of the Land, that they ſhould now be Treaſon together, that is, not Treaſon in any one part, but Treaſon accumulative, that ſo when all will not do, it is woven up with others, it ſhould ſeem very ſtrange.

Under favour my Lords, I do not conceive that there is either Statute Law, or Common-Law, that doth declare the endeavouring to ſubvert the fundamental Laws to be high treaſon.

For neither Statute Law, nor Common-Law written that ever I could hear of, declareth it ſo.

And yet I have been diligent to enquire, (as I believe you think it doth concern me to do.)

It is hard to be queſtioned for life and honour upon a Law that cannot be ſhewn.

There is a rule which I have learned from Sir *Edward Cook*, *De non apparentibus & non exiſtentibus eadem ratio*; (Jeſu) where hath this fire lain all this while, ſo many hundred of years, without any ſmoak to diſcover it, till it thus burſt

burſt out to conſume me and my children? extreme hard in my opinion, that puniſhment ſhould precede promulgation of Law, puniſhment by a Law ſubſequent to the Acts done.

Take it into your conſiderations: for certainly it is now better to be under no Law at all, but the will of men, than to conform our ſelves under the protection of a Law as we think, and then be puniſhed for a crime that doth precede the Law: what man can be ſafe, if that be once admitted?

My Lords, it is hard in another reſpect, that there ſhould be no token ſet upon this offence, by which we ſhould know it, no admonition by which we ſhould be aware of it.

If a man paſs down the *Thames* in a Boat, and it be ſplit upon an Anchor, and no buoy be ſet as a token that there is an Anchor there, that party that owes the Anchor, by the Marine Laws ſhall give ſatisfaction for the damage done; but if it were marked out, I muſt come upon my own peril.

Now where is a mark upon this crime? Where is the token this is high treaſon?

If it be under water, and not above water, no humane providence can avail nor prevent my deſtruction.

Lay aſide all humane wiſdom, and let us reſt upon divine Revelation, if you will condemn before you forewarn the danger.

Oh my Lords! may your Lordſhips be pleaſed to give that regard unto the Peerage of *England*, as never to ſuffer our ſelves to be put on thoſe nice points upon ſuch conſtructive interpretations; and theſe are where Laws are not clear, or known. If there muſt be a tryal of wits, I do humbly beſeech you, the ſubject and matter may be ſomewhat elſe than the lives and honours of Peers.

My Lords, we find that the primitive times, in the progreſſion of the plain Doctrine of the Apoſtles, they brought the Books of curious Arts, and burned them. And ſo likewiſe, as I do conceive, it will be wiſdom and providence in your Lordſhips, for your Poſterity and the whole Kingdom, to caſt from you into the fire theſe bloody and moſt myſterious Volumes of Conſtructive and Arbitrary Treaſon; and to betake your ſelves to the plain Letters of

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the Law and Statute, that telleth us where the crime is, and by telling what is and what is not, ſhews us how to avoid it. And let us not be ambitious, to be more wiſe and learned in the killing Arts, than our Forefathers were.

It is now full two hundred and forty years ſince ever any man was touched for this alledged crime (to this height) before my ſelf; we have lived happily to our ſelves at home, and we have lived gloriouſly to the world abroad.

Let us reſt contented with that our Fathers left us; and not awaken thoſe ſleepy Lions to our own deſtructions; by raking up a few muſty Records that have lien ſo many Ages by the walls, quite forgotten and neglected.

May your Lordſhips be nobly pleaſed, not to add this to thoſe other miſ-fortunes befallen me for my ſins, not for my Treaſons, that a preſident ſhould be derived from me of that diſadvantage (as this will be in the conſequent to the whole Kingdom.) I beſeech you ſeriouſly to conſider it, and let not my particular Cauſe be looked upon as you do: though you wound me in my intereſt in the Common-wealth, and therefore thoſe Gentlemen ſay, that they ſpeak for the Common-wealth, yet in this particular I indeed ſpeak for it, and the inconveniencies and miſchiefs that will heavily fall upon us: for as it is in the firſt of *Henry* the fourth, no man will after know what to do or ſay for fear.

Do not put, my Lords, ſo great difficulties upon the Miniſters of State, that men of wiſdom, honour and vertue may not with chearfulneſs and ſafety be imployed for the publick; if you weigh and meaſure them by grains and ſcruples, the publick affairs of the Kingdom will be laid waſte, and no man will meddle with them, that hath honours, iſſues, or any fortunes to loſe.

My Lords, I have now troubled you longer than I ſhould have done, were it not for the intereſt of thoſe dear pledges a Saint in heaven left me; I ſhould be loth, my Lords, (there he ſtopped.)

What I forfeit for my ſelf it is nothing, but that my indiſcretion ſhould forfeit for my child, it even woundeth me deep to the very ſoul.

You will pardon my infirmity, ſomething I ſhould have ſaid, but I am not able, (and ſighed) therefore let it paſs.

And now, my Lords, I have been, by the bleſſing of Almighty God, taught, that the afflictions of this life preſent, are

are not to be compared to the eternal weight of that glory that ſhall be revealed to us hereafter.

And ſo, my Lords, even ſo with tranquillity of mind I do ſubmit my ſelf freely and clearly to your Lordſhips judgments, and whether that righteous judgment ſhall be to life or death.

Te Deum laudamus, Te Dominum confitemur.

The Earl of Straffords *Speech on the Scaffold immediately before his Execution on* Tower-Hill, May 12. 1641.

My L. Primate of Ireland,

IT is my very great comfort that I have your Lordſhip by me this day, in regard I have been known to you theſe many years, and I do thank God and your Lordſhip for it that you are here; I ſhould be very glad to obtain ſo much ſilence as to be heard a few words, but I doubt I ſhall not, the noiſe is ſo great. My Lords, I am come hither by the good will and pleaſure of Almighty God, to pay that laſt debt I owe to ſin, which is death, and by the bleſſing of that God, to riſe again through the merits of *Jeſus Chriſt* to righteouſneſs and life eternal. [Here he was a little interrupted.]

My Lords, I am come hither to ſubmit to that Judgment which hath paſſed againſt me. I do it with a very quiet and contented mind, I thank God I do freely forgive all the world, a forgiveneſs that is not ſpoken from the teeth outwards (as they ſay) but from the very heart, I ſpeak it in the preſence of Almighty God, before whom I ſtand, that there is not a diſpleaſing thought ariſing in me towards any man living. I thank God I can ſay it, and truly too, my Conſcience bearing me witneſs, that in all my imployment, ſince I had the honour to ſerve his Majeſty, I never had any thing in the purpoſe of my heart but what tended to the joint and individual proſperity of King and people; although it hath been my ill fortune to be miſ-conſtrued.

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I am not the first that hath suffered in this kind, it is the common portion of us all, while we are in this life to err, righteous Judgment we must wait for in another place, for here we are very subject to be mis-judged one of another: There is one thing that I desire to free my self of, and I am very confident (speaking it now with so much chearfulness) that I shall obtain your Christian charity in the belief of it, I was so far from being against Parliaments that I did always think the Parliaments of *England* were the most happy constitutions that any Kingdom or Nation lived under, and the best means under God to make the King and People happy.

For my death I here acquit all the world, and beseech the God of heaven heartily to forgive them that contrived it, though in the intentions and purposes of my heart I am not guilty of what I die for: And my Lord Primate, it is a great comfort for me that his Majesty conceives me not meriting so severe and heavy a punishment as is the utmost execution of this Sentence; I do infinitely rejoyce in this mercy of his, and I beseech God return it into his own bosome, that he may find mercy when he stands most in need of it.

I wish this Kingdom all the prosperity and happiness in the world, I did it living, and now dying it is my wish; I do most humbly recommend this to every one who hears me, and desire they would lay their hands upon their hearts, and consider seriously whether the beginning of the happiness and Reformation of a Kingdom should be written in Letters of blood: consider this when you are at your homes, and let me be never so unhappy, as that the least drop of my blood should rise up in judgment against any one of you, but I fear you are in a wrong way.

My Lords, I have but one word more, and with that I shall end. I profess that I die a true and obedient Son to the Church of *England*, wherein I was born and in which I was bred. Peace and prosperity be ever to it.

It hath been objected (if it were an objection worth the answering) that I have been inclined to Popery, but I say truly from my heart, that from the time that I was one and twenty years of age to this present, going now upon forty nine, I never had in my heart to doubt this religion of the Church of *England*: Nor ever had any man

man the boldneſs to ſuggeſt any ſuch thing to me, to the beſt of my remembrance: and ſo being reconciled by the merits of *Jeſus Chriſt* my *Saviour*, into whoſe boſom I hope I ſhall ſhortly be gathered, to thoſe eternal happineſſes which ſhall never have end; I deſire heartily the forgiveneſs of every man, for any raſh or unadviſed words, or any thing done amiſs; and ſo my Lords and Gentlemen Farewell; Farewell all the things of this world.

I deſire that you would be ſilent and joyn with me in prayer, and I truſt in God we ſhall all meet and live eternally in heaven, there to receive the Accompliſhment of all happineſs, where every tear ſhall be wiped away from our eyes, and every ſad thought from our hearts; and ſo God bleſs this Kingdom, and Jeſus have mercy on my Soul.

Then turning himſelf about he ſaluted all the Noble-men; and took a ſolemn leave of all conſiderable perſons upon the Scaffold, giving them his hand.

After that he ſaid, Gentlemen, I would ſay my prayers, and intreat you all to pray with me, and for me; then his Chaplain laid the Book of Common-prayer upon the Chair before him, as he kneeled down, on which he prayed almoſt a quarter of an hour, and then as long or longer without the Book, and concluded with the Lords prayer.

Standing up he eſpies his Brother, Sir *George Wentworth*, and calls him to him ſaying, Brother, we muſt part, remember me to my Siſter, and to my Wife, and carry my bleſſing to my Son, and charge him that he fear God, and continue an obedient Son to the Church of *England*, and warn him that he bears no private grudge or revenge toward any man concerning me; And bid him beware that he meddle not with Church-livings, for that will prove a moth and canker to him in his eſtate, and wiſh him to content himſelf to be a Servant to his Country, not aiming at higher Preferments.

Aliter] To his Son Mr. *Wentworth* he commends himſelf, and gives him charge to ſerve his God, to ſubmit to his King with all faith and allegiance in things temporal, to the Church in things Spiritual, chargeth him again and again, as he will anſwer it to him in heaven, never to meddle with the Patrimony of the Church, for if he did, it would be a Canker to eat up the reſt of his Eſtate.

Carry

Carry my bleſſing alſo to my daughter *Anne*, and *Arabella*, charge them to ſerve and fear God, and he will bleſs them; not forgetting my little infant, who yet knows neither good nor evil, and cannot ſpeak for it ſelf, God ſpeak for it, and bleſs it; now ſaid he I have nigh done, one Stroke will make my Wife husbandleſs, my dear children fatherleſs, and my poor Servants maſterleſs, and will ſeparate me from my dear Brother, and all my friends. But let God be to you and them all in all.

After this, going to take off his doublet and to make himſelf unready, he ſaid, I thank God I am not afraid of Death, nor daunted with any diſcouragement riſing from any fears, but do as chearfully put off my doublet at this time, as ever I did when I went to bed; then he put off his doublet, wound up his hair with his hands, and put on a white Cap.

Then he called, where is the man that is to do this laſt office? (meaning the executioner) call him to me: when he came and asked him forgiveneſs, he told him he forgave him and all the world: then kneeling down by the block, he went to prayer again himſelf, the Primate of *Ireland* kneeling on the one ſide and the Miniſter on the other: To the which Miniſter, after prayer, he turned himſelf, having done prayer, and ſpoke ſome few words ſoftly, having his hands lifted up, and cloſed with the Miniſters hands.

Then bowing himſelf to lay his head upon the block, he told the executioner that he would firſt lay down his head to try the fitneſs of the block, and take it up again before he would lay it down for good and all: And ſo he did; and before he laid it down again, he told the Executioner that he would give him warning when to ſtrike by ſtretching forth his hands; And preſently laying down his neck upon the block, and ſtretching forth his hands, the Executioner ſtruck off his head at one blow, and taking it up in his hand ſhewed it to all the people, and ſaid, *God ſave the King.*

His body was afterwards embalmed, and appointed to be carried into York-ſhire, there to be buried amongſt his Anceſtors.

He left theſe three Inſtructions for his Son in writing.

Firſt, That he ſhould continue ſtill to be brought up under

der thoſe Governours to whom he had committed him; As being the beſt he could pick out of all thoſe within his knowledge, and that he ſhould not change them, unleſs they were weary of him; that he ſhould rather want himſelf, than they ſhould want any thing they could deſire.

Secondly, He chargeth him as he would anſwer it at the laſt day, not to put himſelf upon any publick employments till he was thirty years of age at leaſt: And then if his Prince ſhould call him to Publick Service, he ſhould carefully undertake it, to teſtify his obedience, and withal to be faithful and ſincere to his Maſter, though he ſhould come to the ſame end that himſelf did.

Thirdly, that he ſhould never lay any hand upon any thing that belonged to the Church; He foreſaw that ruine was like to come upon the Revenues of the Church, and that perhaps they might be ſhared amongſt the Nobility, and Gentry: But if his Son meddled with any of it, he wiſhed the curſe of God might follow him, and all them, to the deſtruction *of the moſt Apoſtolical Church upon Earth.*

A Perfect Relation of the Suffering and Execution of the moſt Reverend Father in God *William* Lord Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, *January* 10. 1644.

THE time between the Sentence and the Execution, he ſpent in prayers and applications to the Lord his God; having obtained, though not without ſome difficulty, a Chaplain of his own, to attend upon him, and to aſſiſt him in the work of his preparation: though little preparation needed to receive that blow, which could not but be welcom, becauſe long expected. For ſo well was he ſtudied in the art of dying (eſpecially in the laſt and ſtricteſt part of his impriſonment) that by continual faſting, watching, prayers, and ſuch like acts of Chriſtian humiliation, his fleſh was rarified into ſpirit, and the whole man ſo fitted for eternal glories, that he was more than half in Heaven, before death brought his bloody (but triumphant) chariot to convey him thither. Friday Jan. 10. 1644. *The fatal morning being come, he firſt applied himſelf*

to

to his private prayers, and so continued, till Pennington, *and other of their publick Officers came to conduct him to the Scaffold: which he ascended with so brave a courage, such a cheerful countenance, as if he had mounted rather to behold a triumph, than to be made a sacrifice, and came not there to die, but to be translated. And to say truth, it was no Scaffold, but a Throne, a Throne whereon he shortly was to receive a Crown, even the most glorious Crown of Martyrdom. And though some rude, uncivil people reviled him as he passed along, with opprobrious language, as loth to let him go to the Grave in peace, it never discomposed his thoughts, nor disturbed his patience. For he had profited so well in the School of* Christ, *that* when he was reviled he reviled not again, when he suffered he threatned not, but committed his cause to him that judgeth righteously. *And as he did not fear the frowns, so neither did he covet the applause of the vulgar herd, and therefore rather chose to read what he had to speak unto the people, than to affect the ostentation either of memory or wit in that dreadful Agony: whether with greater magnanimity or prudence, I can hardly say. As for the matter of his Speech besides what did concern himself and his own purgation, his great care was to clear His Majesty and the Church of* England *from any inclination unto Popery; with a perswasion of the which, the Authors of the miseries of those times had abused the people, and made them take up Arms against their Soveraign. A faithful servant to the last. By means whereof, as it is said of* Sampson *in the book of* Judges, *that* the men which he slew at his death, were more than they which he slew in his life: *so may it be affirmed of this famous Prelate, that he gave a greater blow unto the enemies of God and the King at the hour of his death, than he had given them in his whole life before. But this you will more clearly see by the Speech itself, which followeth here according to the best and most perfect Copies, published by one of his Chaplains, and printed at* Oxford.

A Speech of the moſt Reverend Father in God William *Lord Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *ſpoken at his death upon the Scaffold on* Tower-hill January 10. 1644.

Good People,

THis is an uncomfortable time to Preach, yet I ſhall begin with a Text of Scripture, Heb. 12. 2. *Let us run with Patience that race which is ſet before us, looking unto Jeſus the Author and finiſher of our Faith, who for the joy that was ſet before him, endured the Croſs, deſpiſing the ſhame, and is ſet down at the right hand of the throne of God.*

I have been long in my *Race*, and how I have looked to *Jeſus the Author and finiſher of my Faith*, He beſt knows: I am now come to the end of my *Race*, and here I find the *Croſs*, a death of *ſhame*, but the *ſhame* muſt be *deſpiſed*, or no coming to the *right hand of God*: *Jeſus deſpiſed the ſhame* for me, and God forbid but I ſhould *deſpiſe the ſhame* for Him: I am going apace (as you ſee) towards the red Sea, and my feet are now upon the very brink of it; an Argument, I hope, that God is bringing me into *the Land of promiſe*, for that was *the way through which he led his People*: But before they came to it, He inſtituted a *Paſſover* for them, a *Lamb* it was, but it muſt be *eaten with ſowr Herbs*, *I ſhall obey, and labour to digeſt the* ſower Herbs, *as* well as the *Lamb*. And I ſhall remember it in *the Lords Paſſover*; I ſhall not think of the *Herbs*, nor be angry with the hand which gathereth them; but look up only to Him who inſtituted that, and governs theſe; For men can have *no more power over me than what is given them from above*. I am not in love with this paſſage through the Red Sea, for I have the weakneſs and infirmities of fleſh and blood plentifully in me: And I have prayed with my Saviour, *ut tranſiret Calix iſte*, that this *Cup* of red Wine *might paſs from me*: But if not, *Gods will (not mine) be done*, and I ſhall moſt willingly *drink of this Cup* as deep as He pleaſes, and enter into this Sea, yea and paſs through it, *in the way that he ſhall lead me*.

But I would have it remembred (Good people) that when Gods Servants were in this boyſterous Sea, and *Aa-*

ron among them, the *Ægyptians* which perſecuted them (and did in a manner drive them into that Sea) were drowned in the ſame waters, while they were in purſuit of them: *I know my God whom I ſerve*, is as able to deliver me from this Sea of Blood, as he was to deliver the three *Children* from the Furnace; and *(I moſt humbly thank my Saviour for it)* my Reſolution is now, as theirs was then: *They would not worſhip the Image the King had ſet up*, nor will I the Imaginations which the People are ſetting up; nor will I forſake the *Temple and the truth of God*, to follow the bleating of *Jeroboams* Calf, in *Dan* and in *Bethel*. And as *for this People*, they are at this day miſerably miſled (God of his mercy open their Eyes that they may ſee the right way) for at this day *the Blind lead the Blind*, and if they go on, *both will certainly into the ditch*. For my ſelf, I am (and I acknowledge it in all humility) a moſt grievous Sinner many ways, by thought, word, and deed, and I cannot doubt, but that God hath mercy in ſtore for me (a poor Penitent) as well as for other ſinners; I have now upon this ſad occaſion, ranſacked every corner of my Heart, and yet (I thank God) I have not found (among the many) any one ſin which deſerves death by any known Law of this Kingdom: And yet hereby I charge nothing upon my Judges; for if they proceed upon proof (by valuable witneſſes) I or any other innocent, may be juſtly condemned: And I thank God, though the weight of the ſentence lie heavy upon me, I am as quiet within, as ever I was in my life. And though I am not only the firſt Archbiſhop, but the firſt man that ever died by an *Ordinance of Parliament*, yet ſome of my Predeceſſors have gone this way, though not by this means; For *Elphegus* was hurried away and loſt his head by the *Danes*; and *Simon Sudbury* in the fury of *Wat Tyler* and his fellows: Before theſe, St. *John Baptiſt* had his head danced off by a lewd woman; and St. *Cyprian* Archbiſhop of *Carthage*, ſubmitted his head to a perſecuting Sword. Many examples (great and good) and they teach me patience: for I hope my Cauſe in Heaven will look of another dy, than the colour that is put upon it here. And ſome comfort it is to me, not only that I go the way of theſe great men in their ſeveral generations, but alſo that my Charge (as fowl as 'tis made) looks like that of the *Jews* againſt St. *Paul* (*Acts* 25. 3.) For he was accu-

accused for the *Law* and the *Temple*, i. e. *Religion*: And like that of St. *Stephen* (*Acts* 6. 14.) for breaking the *Ordinances* which *Moses* gave, *i. e.* Law and Religion, *the holy place and the Temple* (*verse* 13.) But you will say, do I then compare my self with the integrity of St. *Paul*, and St. *Stephen*? No, far be that from me; I only raise a comfort to my self, that these great Saints and servants of God were laid at in their times, as I am now. And 'tis memorable, that St. *Paul* who helped on this Accusation against St. *Stephen*, did after fall under the very same himself. Yea, but here's a great Clamour that I would have brought in Popery: I shall answer that more fully by and by: In the mean time you know what the Pharisees said against Christ himself, *If we let him alone, all men will believe in him*, Et venient Romani, *and the Romans will come, and take away both our place and the Nation.* Here was a causeless cry against Christ that *the Romans will come*: And see how just the judgment of God was? they crucified Christ for fear lest the *Romans* should come, and his death was it which brought in the *Romans* upon them, God punishing them with that which they most feared: and I pray God this Clamour of *Venient Romani* (of which I have given no cause) help not to bring them in; for the Pope never had such a Harvest in *England* since the Reformation, as he hath now upon the Sects and Divisions that are amongst us. In the mean time *by honour and dishonour, by good report and evil report, as a deceiver and yet true*, am I passing through this world, 2 *Cor.* 6. 8.—— Some particulars also I think it not amiss to speak of.

And first, this I shall be bold to speak of, the King our gracious Soveraign, He hath been much traduced also for bringing in of Popery, but on my Conscience (of which I shall give God a very present accompt) I know Him to be as free from this Charge as any man living; and I hold Him to be as sound a Protestant (according to the Religion by Law established) as any man in this Kingdom: And that he will venture his life as far and as freely for it; and I think I do, or should know, both His affection to Religion, and His grounds for it, as fully as any man in *England*.

The second particular is concerning this great and Populous City, (which God bless.) Here hath been of late a fashion taken up, to gather hands, and then go the Great

Court of this Kingdom, (the Parliament) and clamour for Juſtice, as if that great and wiſe Court, before whom the Cauſes come (which are unknown to the many) could not, or would not do Juſtice, but at their appointment. A way, which may endanger many an *Innocent* man, and pluck his blood upon their own heads, and perhaps upon the Cities alſo: And this hath been lately practiſed againſt my ſelf; [*the Magiſtrates ſtanding ſtill, and ſuffering them openly to proceed from Pariſh to Pariſh without check*;] God forgive the ſetters of this (with all my heart I begg it) but many well meaning people are caught by it. In Saint *Stephens* caſe, when nothing elſe would ſerve, *they ſtirred up the People againſt him*; and *Herod* went the ſame way, when he had killed Saint *James*, yet he would not venture upon Saint *Peter*, till he found how the other *pleaſed the People*. But take heed of having your *hands full of blood*, for there is a time (beſt known to himſelf) when God (above other ſins) *makes inquiſition for blood*, and when that Inquiſition is on foot, the Pſalmiſt tells us, *That God remembers* (but that's not all) *He remembers and forgets not the complaint of the Poor*, that is, whoſe blood is ſhed by oppreſſion, *verſe* 9. take heed of this, *'Tis a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God*, but then eſpecially, *when he is making Inquiſition for blood*; And (with my Prayers to avert it) I do heartily deſire this City to remember the Propheſie that is expreſſed *Jer.* 26. 15.

See the words at large in the title of this Relation.

The third particular is the poor Church of *England*. It hath flouriſhed and been a ſhelter to other neighbouring Churches, when ſtorms have driven upon them. But, alas, now 'tis in a ſtorm it ſelf, and God only knows whether, or how it ſhall get out: and (which is worſe than a ſtorm from without) it's become like an Oak cleft to ſhivers with wedges made out of its own body, and at every cleft prophaneneſs and irreligion is entring in, while as *Proſper* ſpeaks (in his ſecond Book *De vitæ contemptu, cap.* 4.) *Men that introduce prophaneneſs are cloaked over with the name* Religionis Imaginariæ, *of Imaginary Religion*: for we have loſt the Subſtance, and dwell too much in Opinion, and that Church which all the Jeſuits machinations could not ruine, is fallen into danger by her own.

The

The laſt particular (for I am not willing to be too long) is my ſelf: I was born and baptized in the boſom of the Church of *England* eſtabliſhed by Law, in that profeſſion I have ever ſince lived, and in that I come now to dye: This is no time to diſſemble with God, leaſt of all in matter of Religion, and therefore I deſire it may be remembred, I have always lived in the Proteſtant Religion, eſtabliſhed in *England*, and in that I come now to die. What Clamours and Slanders I have endured for labouring to keep an Uniformity in the external ſervice of God, according to the Doctrine and Diſcipline of this church, all men know, and I have abundantly felt.

Now at laſt I am accuſed of *High Treaſon* in Parliament; a Crime which my ſoul ever abhorred; this Treaſon was charged to conſiſt of theſe two parts, *An endeavour to ſubvert the Laws of the Land*, and a like *Endeavour to overthrow the true Proteſtant Religion Eſtabliſhed by Law.* Beſides my anſwers to the ſeveral Charges, I proteſted my Innocency in both Houſes. *It was ſaid Priſoners* proteſtations at the Barr muſt not be taken. I can bring no witneſs of my heart and the intentions thereof, therefore I muſt come to my Proteſtation not at the Barr, but my Proteſtation at this hour and inſtant of my death; in which I hope all men will be ſuch charitable Chriſtians, as not to think I would die and diſſemble, being inſtantly to give God an account for the truth of it: I do therefore in the preſence of *God*, and his holy Angels, take it upon my death, That I never endeavoured the ſubverſion either of Law or Religion; and I deſire you all to remember this Proteſt of mine for my Innocency, in theſe and from all Treaſons whatſoever. I have been accuſed likewiſe as an Enemy to Parliaments; No, I underſtand them and the benefit that comes by them too well to be ſo: But I did miſlike the miſgovernment of ſome Parliaments many ways, and I had good reaſon for it: For *Corruptio optimi eſt peſſima*, there is no corruption in the world ſo bad, as that which is of the beſt thing in it ſelf; for the better the thing is in nature, the worſe it is corrupted. And that being the higheſt Court, over which no other have Juriſdiction, when 'tis miſinformed or miſ-governed, the Subject is left without all remedy. But I have done, I forgive all the World, all and every of thoſe bitter Enemies which have perſecuted

me, and humbly desire to be forgiven of God first, and then of every man, whether I have offended him or not, if he do but conceive that I have. Lord do thou forgive me, and I beg forgiveness of him. And so I heartily desire you to joyn in Prayer with me.

The Archbishops Prayer upon the Scaffold.

O *Eternal God and merciful Father, look down upon me in mercy, in the Riches and fulness of all thy mercies look upon me; but not till thou hast nailed my sins to the Cross of Christ, not till thou hast bathed me in the blood of Christ, not till I have hid my self in the wounds of Christ: that so the punishment due unto my sins may pass over me. And since thou art pleased to try me to the uttermost, I humbly beseech thee, give me now in this great instant, full Patience, proportionable Comfort, and a heart ready to die for thy Honour, the Kings happiness, and this Churches preservation. And my zeal to these (far from arrogance be it spoken) is all the sin (humane frailty excepted, and all incidents thereto,) which is yet known to me in this particular, for which I now come to suffer; I say in this particular of* Treason; *but otherwise my sins are many and great: Lord pardon them all, and those especially (what ever they are) which have drawn down this present judgement upon me: and when thou hast given me strength to bear it, do with me as seems best in thine own eyes: and carry me through death that I may look upon it in what visage soever it shall appear to me,* Amen. *And that there may be a stop of this issue of blood, in this more than miserable Kingdom,* (I shall desire that I may pray for the people too, as well as for my self) *O Lord, I beseech thee, give grace of repentance to all blood-thirsty people; but if they will not repent, O Lord confound all their devices, Defeat and Frustrate all their Designs and endeavours upon them, which are or shall be contrary to the Glory of thy great Name, the truth and sincerity of Religion, the establishment of the King and His Posterity after Him in their just Rights and Priviledges, the Honour and Conservation of Parliaments in their just power, the Preservation of this poor Church in her Truth, Peace and Patrimony, and the settlement of this distracted and distressed People under their ancient Laws, and in their native Liberties. And when thou hast done all this in meer mercy for them,*

them, O Lord, fill their hearts with thankfulneſs, and with Religious dutiful obedience to thee and thy Commandments all their days: So Amen, *Lord Jeſus,* Amen, *and receive my Soul into thy Boſom,* Amen.

Our Father which art, &c.

The Speech and Prayers being ended, he gave the Paper which he read unto Doctor *Sterne*, deſiring him to ſhew it to his other Chaplains, that they might know how he departed out of this world, and ſo prayed God to ſhew his mercies and bleſſings on them. And noting how one *Hind* had employed himſelf in taking a Copy of his *Speech* as it came from his mouth; he deſired him not to *do him wrong* in publiſhing a falſe or imperfect Copy. Which as *Hind* promiſed him to be careful of, calling for puniſhment from above if he ſhould do otherwiſe; ſo hath he reaſonably well performed his promiſe: the Alterations or Additions which occur therein, being perhaps the work of thoſe who peruſed his Papers, and were to Authoriſe them to the publick view, to fit it more unto the palate of the City faction, and make it more conſiſtent with the credit of thoſe guilty men, who had voted to his condemnation. This done, he next applied himſelf to the *fatal Block*, as to the Haven of his reſt. But finding the way full of people, who had placed themſelves upon the *Theatre* to behold the *Tragedy*, he deſired *he might have room to die*, beſeeching them to let *him have an end of his miſeries, which he had endured very long.* All which he did with ſo ſerene and calm a mind, as if he had been rather taking order for another mans funeral, than making way unto his own. Being come near the *Block*, he put off his doublet, and uſed ſome words to this effect. *Gods will be done, I am willing to go out of this world, no man can be more willing to ſend me out of it.* And ſeeing through the chinks of the boards that ſome people were got under the *Scaffold*, about the very place where the *Block* was ſeated, he called on the Officers for ſome duſt to ſtop them, or to remove the people thence, ſaying it was no part of his deſires, that *his blood ſhould fall upon the heads of the People.* Never did man put off mortality with a braver courage, nor look upon his bloody and malicious enemies with more *Chriſtian* charity. And thus far he was gone in his way towards Pa-

radiſe with ſuch a Primitive magnanimity, as equalled, if not exceeded the example of ancient Martyrs, when he was ſomewhat interrupted in his quiet paſſage by one Sir *John Clotworthy*, a fire-brand brought from *Ireland* by the Earl of *Warwick* to increaſe the Combuſtions in this Kingdom. Who finding that the *mockings and revilings* of malicious people had no power to move him, or ſharpen him into any diſcontent or ſhew of paſſion; would needs put in, and try what he could do with his *ſponge and vineger*, and ſtepping to him near the block, asked him, (with ſuch a purpoſe as the *Scribes* and *Phariſees* uſed to propoſe queſtions to our Lord and Saviour) not to learn by him but to tempt him, or to expoſe him to ſome diſadvantage with the ſtanders by, what was the comfortableſt ſaying which a dying man could have in his mouth. To which he meekly made this anſwer, *Cupio diſſolvi & eſſe cum Chriſto*; i. e. *I deſire to be diſſolv'd and to be with Chriſt.* Being asked again what was the fitteſt ſpeech a man could uſe, to expreſs his confidence and aſſurance; he anſwered with the ſame ſpirit of meekneſs, that ſuch *aſſurance was to be found within, and that no words were able to expreſs it rightly.* Which when it would not ſatisfie the troubleſome and impertinent man (who aimed at ſomething elſe than ſuch ſatisfaction) unleſs he gave ſome word, or place of Scripture, whereupon ſuch aſſurance might be truly founded; he uſed ſome words to this effect, that it was the *Word of God concerning Chriſt*, and *his dying for us.* And ſo without expecting any further queſtions (for he perceived by the manner of Sir *John*'s proceedings, that there would be no end of his interruptions, if he hearkened any longer to him) he turned towards his *Executioner* (the gentler and diſcreeter man of the two) and gave him money, ſaying, without the leaſt diſtemper or change of countenance, *here, honeſt friend, God forgive thee, and do thy office upon me with mercy*, and having given a ſign when the blow ſhould come, he kneeled down upon his knees, and prayed as followeth.

The Lord Archbiſhops Prayer, as he kneeled by the Block.

LOrd, I am coming as faſt as I can, I know I muſt paſs through the ſhadow of death, before I can come to ſee thee. But it is but umbra mortis, *a meer ſhadow of death, a little darkneſs upon nature; but thou by thy merits and paſſion haſt broke through the jaws of death. So, Lord receive my Soul, and have mercy upon me, and bleſs this Kingdom with Peace and Plenty, and with brotherly love and charity, that there may not be this effuſion of Chriſtian blood amongſt them, for* Jeſus Chriſt's *ſake, if it be thy will.*

Then laying his head upon the *Block*, and praying ſilently to himſelf, he ſaid aloud, *Lord receive my Soul*, which was the ſignal given to the *Executioner*, who very dextrouſly did his office, and took it off at a blow: his Soul aſcending on the wings of Angels into *Abrahams boſome*, and leaving his *Body* on the *Scaffold*, to the care of men. A ſpectacle ſo unpleaſing unto moſt of thoſe who had deſired his death with much heat and paſſion, that many who came with greedy eyes to ſee him ſuffer, went back with weeping eyes when they ſaw him dead; their conſciences perhaps bearing witneſs to them, as you know whoſe did, that they *had ſinned* in being guilty of ſuch *innocent blood*. Of thoſe, whom only curioſity, and deſire of novelty brought thither to behold that unuſual ſight, many had not the patience to attend the iſſue, but went away aſſoon as the ſpeech was ended; others returned much altered in the opinion which before they had of him, and bettered in their reſolutions towards the King and the Church, whoſe honour and religious purpoſes they ſaw ſo clearly vindicated by this glorious Martyr. And for the reſt (the moſt conſiderable, though perhaps the ſmalleſt part of that great aſſembly) as they came thither with no other intention, than to aſſiſt him with their prayers, to imbalm his body with their tears, and to lay up his dying ſpeeches in their hearts and memories: ſo when they had performed thoſe offices of Chriſtian duty, they comforted themſelves with this, that as his life was honourable, ſo his death was glorious, the pains whereof were ſhort and momentany to himſelf,

himself, the benefit like to be perpetual, unto them and others, who were resolved to live and die in the Communion of the Church of *England.*

It was observed, that whereas other men when they come to the *Block*, use to look pale, and wan, and ghastly, and are even dead before the blow, he on the contrary seemed more fresh and chearful, than he had done any part of the day before: a clear and gallant spirit being like the Sun, which shews greatest always at the setting. And as the Scripture telleth us of St. *Stephen* the *Proto-Martyr* that whilst he spake his last Oration before the chief *Priests* and *Elders* of the *Jews*, they of the *Council looking stedfastly upon him, saw his face as it had been the face of an Angel:* so was it generally observed, not without astonishment, that all the while our *Martyr* prayed upon the *Block*, the Sun which had not shown it self all the day till then, did shine directly on his face, which made him look most comfortably (that I say not gloriously) but presently as soon as the Blow was given, withdrew behind a cloud again, and appeared no more. And if the bodies of us men be capable of any happiness in the *grave*, he had as great a share therein, as he could desire, or any of his friends expect; his body being accompanied to the earth with great multitudes of people, whom love, or curiosity, or remorse of conscience had drawn together, purposely to perform that office, and decently interred in the Church of *Allhallows Barking* (a Church of his own Patronage and Jurisdiction) according to the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of *England.* In which it may be noted, as a thing remarkable, that being whilst he lived the greatest Champion of the *Common-Prayer-Book*, here by Law established, he had the honour being dead, to be buried in the form therein prescribed, after it had been long disused, and reprobated in most Churches of *London.* Nor need posterity take care to provide his *Monument.* He built one for himself whilst he was alive: it being well observed by Sir *Edward Dering* (one of his most malicious *enemies*, and he who *threw the first stone at him*, in the beginning of this *Parliament*) *that St.* Pauls *Church will be his perpetual Monument, and his own Book* (against the *Jesuit*) *his lasting Epitaph.*

In his Book of Speeches.

Thus

Thus died this moſt Reverend, Renowned, and Religious Prelate: when he had lived 71 years, 13 weeks, 4 days; if at the leaſt he may be properly ſaid to die, the great example of whoſe virtue ſhall continue always, not only in the minds of men, but in the Annals of ſucceeding Ages, with Renown and Fame. But how he lived, what excellent parts he was compoſed of, and how induſtriouſly he imployed thoſe parts, for the advancement of Gods honour, his Soveraigns Power and Safety, and the Churches Peace, will be a work becoming a more able pen; unto whoſe care and diligence I commend the ſame. And ſo I leave him to that comfort which the *Pſalmiſt* gives him, and 'tis the greateſt comfort can befal thoſe men, which have been tortured on the *Rack* of malicious tongues: *viz. The righteous ſhall be had in everlaſting remembrance, and ſhall not be afraid of any evil report.* Pſ. 112. v. 6, 7.

Horat. Carm. l. 4. Ode 8.

Dignum Laude *virum Muſa vetat mori.*

AND yet not leave thee thus, I fain would try
A line or two in way of *Elegie*;
And wail ſo ſad a loſs, if to expreſs
The greatneſs of it would not make it leſs:
If to lament thee might not vex thee more,
Than all the ſcorns thou haſt endur'd before;
And make thee think we envied thee thy ſtart,
Or doubted that thou wer't not what thou art.
Yet, with thy leave, I needs muſt drop a verſe,
Write it with Tears, and fit it for thy herſe;
And at this diſtance from thy grave, which lacks
The pomps of ſorrow, hang my heart with blacks.
Religious Prelate, what a calm haſt thou
I'th midſt of all thoſe turbulent ſtorms, which now
Shipwrack this Iſland? At how cheap a rate
Haſt thou procur'd this change of thy Eſtate?
The *Mitre* for a *Crown*, a few poor days
For endleſs bliſs, vile earth for heavenly joyes!

Such

Such glories hast thou found, such alteration,
In this thy highest, as thy last *Translation.*
How were thine Enemies deceiv'd, when they
Advanc'd thee thus, and chalk'd thee out the way;
A way so welcome to thee! No *Divine*
But knows the *Red Sea* leads to *Palestine*;
And that since JESUS sanctified the *Cross*,
Death's the best purchase, life the greatest loss.
Nor be thou griev'd, blest Soul, that men do still
Pursue thee with black slanders, and do kill
Thy shadow now, and trample on thy Ghost,
(As *Hectors* Carcass by the *Grecian* host;)
Or that thou want'st *inscriptions*, and a stone
T'ingrave thy name, and write thy Titles on.
Thou art above those trifles, and shalt stand
As much above mens malice. Though the hand
Of base detraction practise to defame
Thy spotless vertues, yet impartial fame
Shall do thee all just honours, and set forth
To all succeeding times thy matchless worth.
No Annals shall be writ, but what relate
Thy happy influence both on Church and State;
Thy zeal to publick order, thy great parts
For all affairs of weight, thy love to Arts:
And to our shame and his great glory, tell
For whose dear sake, by whose vile hands he fell
(A death so full of merits, of such price,
To God and man so sweet a sacrifice;
As by good Church-law may his name prefer
To a fixt *Rubrick* in the Calender.
And let this silence the pure Sect's complaint,
If they make *Martyrs*, we may make a Saint.)
Or should men envy thee this right, thy praise
An *Obelisk* unto it self can raise.
Thy brave attempt on *Pauls* in times to come
Shall be a Monument beyond a Tomb.
Thy *Book* shall be thy *Statue*, where we find
The image of thy nobler part, thy mind.
Thy name shall be thine *Epitaph*: and he
Which hears or reads of that shall publish thee
Above the reach of *Titles*, and shall say
None could express thy worths a braver way.

And

And thus though murder'd, thou ſhalt never die,
But live renown'd to all Poſterity.
Reſt thou then happy in ſweets of bliſs,
Th' *Elyzian* fields, the Chriſtians *Paradiſe*;
Exempt from worldly cares, ſecure from fears,
Though we do mourn, and dew thy Hearſe with Tears.

Ad Regem CAROLUM.

Multis ille bonis flebilis occidit,
Nulli flebilior, quam tibi, CAROLE.

Horat. Carm. l. 1. Ode. 24.

The Several Speeches of Duke *Hamilton*, the Earl of *Holland*, and the Lord *Capell*, immediately before their Execution upon the Scaffold in the Palace-yard *Weſtminſter*, on Friday, *March* 9. 1649.

Duke Hamilton *Earl of* Cambridge, *his Speech on the Scaffold*, March 9. 1649.

UPon Friday the ninth of this inſtant, being the day appointed for the Execution of the ſentence of Death upon Duke *Hamilton*, the Earl of *Holland*, and the Lord *Capell*, about Ten of the Clock that morning L. Col. *Beecher* came with his Order to the ſeveral Priſoners at St. *James*'s, requiring them to come away; according to which Order they were carried in Sedans, with a Guard, to Sir *Thomas Cottons* houſe at *Weſtminſter*, where they continued about the ſpace of two hours, paſſing away moſt of that time in religious and ſeaſonable conferences with the Miniſters, there preſent with them. After which, being called away to the Scaffold, it was deſired, that before they went they might have

have the opportunity of commending their Souls to God by prayer, which being readily granted, and the room voided, Mr. *Bolton* was desired by the Lord of *Holland* to take that pains with them, which was accordingly done with great appearance of solemn Affections among them. Prayer being concluded, and hearty thanks returned by them all to the Ministers who performed, as also to the rest who were their Assistants in this sad time of trouble; the Earl of *Cambrige* prepared first to go towards the place of Execution; and after mutual embraces, and some short ejaculatory expressions, to and for his fellow-sufferers, he took his leave of them all, and went along with the Officers, attended upon by Dr. *Sibbald*, whom he had chosen for his Comforter in this his sad condition.

The Scaffold being erected in the new Palace-yard at *Westminster*, over against the great Hall-Gate, in the sight of the place where the High-Court of Justice formerly sate (the Hall-doors being open;) there was his Excellencies Regiment of Horse commanded by Capt. *Disher* and several Companies of Col. *Hewsons* and Col. *Prides* Regiments of Foot drawn up in the place: When the Earl came from *Westminster*-Hall near the Scaffold, he was met by the Undersheriff of *Middlesex* and a Guard of his men, who took the charge of him from Lieut. Col. *Beecher* and the Partizans that were his Guard; The Sheriff of *London* being also, according to command from the High Court of Justice, present, to see the Execution performed.

Duke Hamilton being come upon the Scaffold, and two of his own servants waiting upon him, he first spake to the Doctor as followeth,

Duke. Whether shall I pray first?

Dr. *Sibbald.* As your Lordship pleases.

Duke. My Lord of *Denbigh* has sent to speak with me. I know not the fashion, I may ask you Sir; Do those Gentlemen expect I should say any thing to them, or no? they cannot hear.

Dr. *Sibbald.* There will be a greater silence by and by. It will not be amiss, if your Lordship defer your speaking till you hear from his Lordship.

Duke. There is something in it. He was with the House.

Dr. *Sibbald.* I suppose he would give no interruption to your Lordship, at this time, were there not something of concernment in it.

Duke.

Duke. He is my Brother, and has been a very faithful ſervant to the State, and he was in great eſteem and reputation with them.

He is in the Hall, and ſent to ſpeak with a ſervant of mine to ſend ſomething to me.

Sibbald. It will not lengthen the time much if you ſtay while you have a return from him. My Lord, you ſhould do well to beſtow your time now in meditating upon, and imploring of the free mercy of God in Chriſt for your eternal Salvation, and look upon that ever-ſtreaming Fountain of his precious Blood, that purgeth us from all our ſins, even the ſins of the deepeſt die: the Blood of Jeſus Chriſt waſhes away all our ſins, and that Blood of Chriſt is poured forth upon all ſuch as by a lively Faith lay hold upon him: God ſo loved the World that he gave his only begotten Son, to the end, that whoſoever believed in him ſhould not periſh, but have everlaſting life; that is now, my Lord, the Rock upon which you muſt chiefly reſt, and labour to fix your ſelf in the free mercy of God through Chriſt Jeſus, whoſe mercies are from everlaſting to everlaſting, unto all ſuch as with the eye of Faith behold him; behold Jeſus the Author and Finiſher of your Salvation, who hath ſatiſfied the Juſtice of God by that all-ſufficiency of his Sacrifice, which once for all he offered upon the Croſs for the ſins of the whole world, ſo that the ſting of death is taken away from all Believers, and he hath ſanctified it as a paſſage to everlaſting bleſſedneſs: It is true, the waters of *Jordan* run ſomewhat rough and ſurly betwixt the Wilderneſs and our paſſage into *Canaan*, but let us reſt upon the Ark (my Lord) the Ark Chriſt Jeſus, that will carry us through and above all thoſe waves to that rock of ages, which no floud nor waves can reach unto, and to him who is yeſterday, to day, and the ſame for ever, againſt whom the powers and principalities, the gates of Hell ſhall never be able to prevail; lift up and faſten your eyes now upon Chriſt crucified, and labour to behold Jeſus ſtand at the right hand of his Father, (as the Protomartyr *Stephen*) ready to receive your ſoul, when it ſhall be ſeparated from this frail and mortal body: Alas, no man would deſire life, if he knew beforehand what it were to live, it is nothing but ſorrow, vexation and trouble, grief and diſcontent that waits upon every condition, whether publick or private; in every ſtation and

and calling there are ſeveral miſeries and troubles that are inſeparable from them; therefore what a bleſſed thing is it to have a ſpeedy and comfortable paſſage out of this raging ſea into the Port of everlaſting happineſs! We muſt paſs through a ſea, but it is the ſea of Chriſts Blood, in which never ſoul ſuffered ſhipwrack, in which we muſt be blown with winds and tempeſts, but they are the gales of Gods Spirit upon us, which blow away all contrary winds of diffidence in his mercy.

Here one acquainting the Earl, his ſervant was coming, he anſwered, So Sir; And turning to the under-Sheriffs Son, ſaid,

Duke. Sir, you have your Warrant here?

Sheriff. Yes, my Lord, we have a Command.

Duke. A Command.

I take this time, Sir, of ſtaying, in regard of the Earl of *Denbighs* ſending to ſpeak with me, I know not for what it is he deſires me to ſtay.

Dr. *Sibbald.* I preſume Mr. Sheriff will not grudge your Lordſhip a few minutes time, when ſo great a work as this is in hand.

His Lordſhips ſervant being returned, and having delivered his meſſage to the Earl of Cambridge privately, he ſaid; So, it is done now: and then turning the front of the Scaffold, before which (as in all the reſt of the Palaces) there was a great concourſe of people, he ſaid;

Duke. I think it is truly not very neceſſary for me to ſpeak much, there are many Gentlemen and Soldiers there that ſee me, but my voice truly is ſo weak, ſo low that they cannot hear me, neither truly was I ever at any time ſo much in love with ſpeaking, or with any thing I had to expreſs, that I took delight in it; yet this being the laſt time that I am to do ſo, by a divine Providence of Almighty God, who hath brought me to this end juſtly for my ſins; I ſhall to you Sir, Mr. Sheriff, declare thus much, as to the matter that I am now to ſuffer for, which is as being a Traytor to the Kingdom of *England*: Truly, Sir, it was a Country that I equally loved with my own, I made no difference; I never intended either the generality of its prejudice, or any particular mans in it; what I did was by the Command of the Parliament of the Country where I was born, whoſe Commands I could not diſobey, without

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running into the ſame hazard there of that condition that I am now in: The ends, Sir, of that Engagement are publick, they are in Print, and ſo I ſhall not need to ſpecifie them.

Dr. *Sibbald.* The Sun perhaps will be too much in your Lordſhips face, as you ſpeak.

Duke. No Sir, it will not burn it. I hope I ſhall ſee a brighter Sun than this, Sir, very ſpeedily.

Dr. *Sibbald.* The Sun of Righteouſneſs my Lord.

Duke. (But to that which I was ſaying Sir.) It pleaſed God ſo to diſpoſe that Army under my Command, as it was ruined; and I, as their General cloathed with a Commiſſion, ſtand here now ready to die; I ſhall not trouble you with repeating of my Plea, what I ſaid in my own Defence at the Court of JUSTICE, my ſelf being ſatisfied with the commands that are laid upon me, and they ſatisfied with the Juſtneſs of their procedure; according to the Laws of this Land. God is juſt, and howſoever I ſhall not ſay any thing as to the matter of the ſentence, but that I do willingly ſubmit to his Divine Providence, and I acknowledge that very many ways I deſerve even a worldly puniſhment, as well as hereafter; for we are all ſinful, Sir, and I a great one: yet for my comfort, I know there is a God in Heaven that is exceeding merciful; I know my Redeemer ſits at his Right Hand, and am confident, (clapping his hand to his Breaſt) is Mediating for me at this inſtant; I am hopeful through his free grace, and all-ſufficient merits, to be pardoned of my ſins, and to be received into his mercy; upon that I rely, truſting to nothing but the Free Grace of God through Jeſus Chriſt: I have not been tainted with my Religion, I thank God for it, ſince my infancy, it hath been ſuch as hath been profeſt in the Land, and eſtabliſhed; and now 'tis not this Religion or that Religion, or this or that Fancy of men that is to be built upon; 'tis but one that's right, one that's ſure, and that comes from God, Sir, and in the free grace of our Saviour. Sir, there is truly ſomething, that (* had I thought my Speech would have been thus taken) I would have digeſted it into ſome better method than now I can, and ſhall deſire theſe Gentlemen that do write it, that they will not wrong me in it, and that it may not

* Obſerving the Writers.

in this manner be publiſhed to my diſadvantage, for truly I did not intend to have ſpoken thus when I came here.

There are, Sirs, terrible aſperſions have been laid upon my ſelf, truly ſuch as I thank God I am very free from; as if my actions and intentions had not been ſuch as they were pretended for: but that notwithſtanding what I pretended it was for the King, there was nothing leſs intended than to ſerve him in it. I was bred with him for many years, I was his Domeſtick ſervant, and there was nothing declar'd by the Parliament, that was not really intended by me; and truly in it I ventured my life one way, and now I loſe it another way; and that was one of the ends, as to the King I ſpeak only of that, becauſe the reſt has many particulars, and to clear my ſelf from ſo horrid an aſperſion as is laid upon me; neither was there any other deſign known to me by the incoming of the Army, than what is really in the Declaration publiſhed. His perſon I do profeſs I had reaſon to love as he was my King, and as he had been my Maſter, it has pleaſed God now to diſpoſe of him, ſo as it cannot be thought flattery to have ſaid this, or any end in me for the ſaying of it, but to free my ſelf from that calumny which lay upon me. I cannot gain by it; yet Truth is that which we ſhall gain by for ever.

There hath been much ſpoken, Sir, of an invitation into this Kingdome: it's mentioned in that *Declaration*; and truly to that I did and do remit my ſelf: and I have been very much laboured for diſcoveries of theſe Inviters, 'tis no time to diſſemble. How willing I was to have ſerved this Nation in any thing that was in my power, is known to very many honeſt, pious and religious men; and how ready I would have been to have done what I could to have ſerved them, if it had pleaſed them to have preſerved my life, in whoſe hands there was a power: They have not thought it fit, and ſo I am become unuſeful in that which willingly I would have done. As I ſaid at firſt, (Sir) ſo I ſay now concerning that point; I wiſh the Kingdoms happineſs, I wiſh it peace; and truly, Sir, I wiſh that this blood of mine may be the laſt that is drawn; and howſoever I may perhaps have ſome reluctancy with my ſelf, as to the matter of my fact, for my ſuffering for my fact, yet I freely forgive all; Sir, I carry no rancour along with me to my grave; His Will be done that has created both Heaven

ven and Earth, and me a poor miſerable ſinful creature now ſpeaking before him. For me to ſpeak (Sir) to you of State-buſineſs, and the Government of the Kingdom, or my opinion in that, or for any thing in that nature, truly it is to no end, it contributes nothing; My own inclination hath been to peace from the beginning, and it is known to many that I never was an ill inſtrument betwixt the King and his people: I never acted to the prejudice of the Parliament; I bore no Arms, I medled not with it; I was not wanting by my prayers to God Almighty for the happineſs of the King; and truly I ſhall pray ſtill that God may ſo direct him, as that may be done which ſhall tend to his glory, and the peace and happineſs of the Kingdom.

I have not much more to ſay that I remember of; I think I have ſpoken of my Religion.

Dr. Sibbald. *Your Lordſhip has not ſo fully ſaid it.*

Duke. Truly, I do believe I did ſay ſomething.

Dr. Sibbald. *I know you did, 'tis pleaſing to hear it from your Lordſhip again.*

Duke. Truly Sir, for the profeſſion of my Religion, that which I ſaid was the eſtabliſhed Religion, and that which I have practiſed in my own Kingdom where I was born and bred; my Tenents they need not to be expreſt, they are known to all, and I am not of a rigid opinion, many godly men there are that may have ſcruples, which do not concern me at all at no time; they may differ in Opinion, and now more than at any time, differing in Opinion does not move me (not any mans) my own is clear. Sir, The Lord forgive me my ſins, and I forgive freely all thoſe that even I might (as a worldly man) have the greateſt animoſity againſt; We are bidden to forgive, Sir, 'Tis a command laid upon us (and there mentioned,) *Forgive us our Treſpaſſes, as we forgive them that treſpaſs againſt us.*

Dr. Sibbald. *'Tis our Saviours rule*, Love your Enemies, bleſs them that Curſe you, pray for them that perſecute you, do good to them that deſpightfully uſe you.

Duke. Sir, it is high time for me to make an end of this; and truly I remember no more that I have to ſay, but to pray to God Almighty a few words, and then I have done.

Then kneeling down with Dr. *Sibbald*, he prayed thus:

MOſt Bleſſed Lord, I thy poor and moſt unworthy ſervant come unto thee, preſuming in thy infinite Mercy, and the Merits of Jeſus Chriſt, who ſits upon the Throne; I come flying from that of juſtice to that of Mercy and tenderneſs, for his ſake which ſhed his blood for ſinners, that he would take compaſſion upon me, that he would look upon me as one that graciouſly hears me, that he will look upon me as one that hath Redeemed me, that he would look upon me as one that hath ſhed his blood for me, that he would look upon me as one who now calls and hopes to be ſaved by his all-ſufficient merits. For his ſake (glorious God) have compaſſion upon me in the freeneſs of thy infinite mercy, that when this ſinful ſoul of mine ſhall depart out of this frail carcaſs of clay, I may be carried into thy everlaſting glory; O Lord, by thy free grace, and out of thy infinite mercy hear me, and look down, and have compaſſion upon me, and thou Lord Jeſus, thou my Lord, and thou my God, and thou my Redeemer, hear me, take pity upon me, take pity upon me, gracious God, and ſo deal with my ſoul that by thy precious merits I may attain to thy joy and bliſs; O Lord, remember me, ſo miſerable and ſinful a creature; now thou, (O Lord) thou (O Lord) that dyedſt for me, receive me, and receive me into thine own bound of mercy; O Lord, I truſt in thee, ſuffer me not now to be confounded; Satan has had too long poſſeſſion of this ſoul, O let him not now prevail againſt it, but let me (O Lord) from henceforth dwell with thee for evermore.

Now, Lord, it is thy time to hear me, hear me gracious Jeſus, even for thy own Goodneſs, Mercy and Truth; O Glorious God, O Bleſſed Father, O Holy Redeemer, O Gracious Comforter, O Holy and Bleſſed Trinty, I do render up my ſoul into thy hands, and commit it with the Mediation of my Redeemer, Praiſing thee for all thy Diſpenſations that it has pleaſed thee to conſer upon me, and even for this, Praiſe, and Honour, and Thanks, from this time forth for evermore.

Dr. Sibbald, *My Lord, I truſt you now behold with the Eye of Faith, the Sun of Righteouſneſs ſhining upon your ſoul, and will cheerfully ſubmit unto him who hath Redeemed us through his Blood, even the Blood of Jeſus Chriſt; that you may appear at the Tribunal of God, cloathed with the White Robe of his Unſpotted Righteouſneſs; the Lord grant that with the Eye of Faith you may now ſee the Heavens opened, and Jeſus Chriſt ſtanding*

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ing at the Right Hand of God, ready to receive you into his Arms of Mercy.

Duke. Then the Duke turning to the Executioner, ſaid, Shall I put on another Cap? Muſt this Hair be turn'd up from my Neck? There are three of my ſervants to give ſatisfaction.

Dr. Sibbald. *My Lord, I hope you are able to give all that are about you ſatisfaction, you are aſſured that God is reconciled unto you through the Blood of Chriſt Jeſus, and the Spirit of the Lord witneſſeth to you, that Chriſt is become now a Jeſus unto you. My Lord, faſten the eyes of your Faith upon Jeſus, the Author and Finiſher of your Salvation, who himſelf was brought to a violent death for the Redemption of Mankind; he chearfully ſubmitted to his Fathers good pleaſure in it, and for us:* Bleſſed and holy is he that hath part (*my Lord*) in the firſt Reſurrection, *that is, in the firſt Riſer Jeſus Chriſt, who is both the Reſurrection and the life;* over him the ſecond death ſhall have no power: *'Tis the unſpeakable joy of a Believer, that at the hour of death his ſoul hath an immediate paſſage from this earthly Tabernacle to that Region of endleſs glory, yea, to the preſence of God himſelf, in whoſe preſence is fulneſs of joy, and at whoſe right hand there are pleaſures for evermore.*

Then the Duke turning to the Executioner, ſaid, Which way is it that you would have me lie, Sir?

Execut. The Executioner pointing to the front of the Scaffold, the Earl replied, What, my Head this way? Then the Underſheriffs Son ſaid, My Lord, the Order is, that you ſhould lay your head towards the High Court of Juſtice.

The Duke, after a little diſcourſe in private with ſome of his ſervants, kneeled down on the ſide of the Scaffold, and prayed a while to himſelf.

When he had finiſht his Prayer, Dr. *Sibbald* ſpake to him thus:

My Lord, *I humbly beſeech God that you may now with an holy and Chriſtian courage give up your ſoul to the hand of your faithful Creator and gracious Redeemer; and not be diſmayed with any ſad apprehenſion of the terrors of this death; and what a bleſſed and glorious exchange you ſhall make within a very few minutes.*

Then with a chearful and ſmiling countenance, the Earl imbracing the Doctor in his arms, ſaid,

Duke. Truly, Sir, I do take you in mine arms, and truly I bleſs God for it, I do not fear, I have an aſſurance that is grounded here (laying his hand upon his heart) now that gives me more true joy than ever I had, I paſs out of a miſerable world to go into an eternal and glorious Kingdom; and, Sir, though I have been a moſt ſinful creature, yet Gods mercy I know is infinite, and I bleſs my God for it, I go with ſo clear a Conſcience that I know not the man that I have perſonally injured.

Dr. *Sibbald.* My Lord, *it is a marvellous great ſatisfaction that at this laſt hour you can ſay ſo, I beſeech the Lord for his eternal mercy ſtrengthen your Faith, that in the very moment of your Diſſolution, you may ſee the Arms of the Lord Jeſus ſtretched out ready to receive your ſoul.*

Then the Earl of *Cambridge* embracing thoſe his Servants which were there preſent, ſaid to each of them, You have been very faithful to me, and the Lord bleſs you.

Duke. Then turning to the Executioner, ſaid, I ſhall ſay a very ſhort Prayer to my God, while I lie down there; and when I ſtretch out my hand (my right hand) then, Sir, do your Duty; and I do freely forgive you, and ſo I do all the world.

Dr. *Sibbald. The Lord in great mercy go along with You, and bring You to the poſſeſſion of everlaſting life, ſtrengthning Your Faith in Jeſus Chriſt. This is a paſſage,* My Lord, *a ſhort paſſage unto eternal glory. I hope, through the free grace of Your gracious God, You are now able to ſay,* O Death, where is thy ſting? O Grave, where is thy Victory? *and to make this comfortable anſwer,* Bleſſed be God, bleſſed be God who hath given me an aſſurance of victory through Chriſt Jeſus.

Then the Earl of *Cambridge* ſaid to the Executioner, Muſt I lie along?

Execut. Yes, and't pleaſe your Lordſhip.

Duke. When I ſtretch out my hands——————but I will fit my head firſt, tell me if I be right, and how you would have me lie.

Execut. Your ſhirt muſt be pinn'd back, for it lies too high upon your ſhoulders, *(which was done accordingly.)*

Dr. *Sib-*

Dr. *Sibbald.* My Lord, *Now, now lift up Your eyes unto Jeſus Chriſt, and caſt Your ſelf now into the everlaſting Arms of Your gracious Redeemer.*

Then the Earl having laid his head over the Block, ſaid, Is this right?

Dr. *Sibbald. Jeſus the Son of David have mercy upon You.*

Execut. Lie a little lower, Sir.

Duke. Well, Stay then till I give you the ſign.

And ſo having lain a ſhort ſpace devoutly praying to himſelf, he ſtretched out his right hand, whereupon the Executioner at one blow ſevered his head from his body, which was received by two of his ſervants then kneeling by him, into a Crimſon Taffaty Scarf, and that with the body immediately put into a Coffin brought upon the Scaffold for that purpoſe, and from thence conveyed to the houſe that was Sir *John Hamiltons* at the Mews.

This execution being done, the Sheriffs Guard went immediately to meet the Earl of *Holland*, which they did in the mid-way between the Scaffold and *Weſtminſter*-Hall, and the Under-Sheriffs ſon having received him into his charge, conducted him to the Scaffold, he taking Mr. *Bolton* all the way in his hand, paſſed all along to the Scaffold diſcourſing together; upon which being come, obſerving his voice would not reach to the people, in regard the Guard compaſſed the Scaffold, he ſaid;

Henry *Lord* Rich, *Earl of* Holland, *His Speech on the Scaffold, immediately before his Death,* March 9. 1649.

IT is to no purpoſe (I think) to ſpeak any thing here. Which way muſt I ſpeak? And then being directed to the front of the Scaffold, he (leaning over the Rails) ſaid; I think it is fit to ſay ſomething, ſince God hath call'd me to this place. The firſt thing which I muſt profeſs, is, what concerns my Religion, and my Breeding, which hath been in a good Family, that hath ever been faithful to the true Proteſtant Religion, in the which I have been bred, in the

which I have lived, and in the which by Gods grace and mercy I ſhall die. I have not lived according to that Education I had in that Family where I was born and bred. I hope God will forgive me my ſins, ſince I conceive it is very much his pleaſure to bring me to this place, for the ſins that I have committed. The cauſe that hath brought me hither, I believe by many hath been much miſtaken. They have conceived that I have had ill Deſigns to the State, and to the Kingdom; Truly I look upon it as a Judgment, and a juſt Judgment of God: not but I have offended ſo much the State, and the Kingdom, and the Parliament, as that I have no extream vanity in ſerving them very extraordinarily. For thoſe Actions that I have done, I think it is known they have been ever very faithful to the Publick, and very particularly to Parliaments. My Affections have been ever expreſt truly and clearly to them. The diſpoſitions of Affairs now have put things in another poſture than they were when I was engaged with the Parliament. I have never gone off from thoſe principles that ever I have profeſſed; I have lived in them, and by Gods grace will die in them. There may be Alterations and Changes that may carry them further than I thought reaſonable, and truly there I left them: But there hath been nothing that I have ſaid, or done, or profeſſed, either by Covenant or Declaration, which hath not been very conſtant, and very clear, upon the principles that I ever have gone upon; which was to ſerve the King, the Parliament, Religion, (I ſhould have ſaid in the firſt place) the Commonwealth, and to ſeek the Peace of the Kingdom; That made me think it no improper time, being preſt out by Accidents and Circumſtances, to ſeek the Peace of the Kingdom, which I thought was proper, ſince there was ſomething then in Agitation, but nothing agreed on for ſending Propoſitions to the King; that was the furtheſt aim that I had, and truly beyond that I had no intention, none at all. And God be praiſed although my blood comes to be ſhed here, there was I think ſcarce a drop of blood ſhed in that Action that I was engaged in. For the preſent Affairs as they are, I cannot tell how to judge of them; and truly they are in ſuch a condition, as (I conceive) no body can make a judgment of them; and therefore I muſt make uſe of Prayers, rather than of my Opinion;

nion; which are, That God would bleſs this Kingdom, this Nation, this State; that he would ſettle it in a way agreeable to what this Kingdom hath been happily governed under, by a King, by the Lords, by the Commons; a government that I conceive it hath flouriſhed much under, and I pray God the change of it bring not rather a prejudice, a diſorder, and a confuſion, than the contrary. I look upon the Poſterity of the King, and truly my Conſcience directs me to it, to deſire, that if God be pleaſed, theſe People may look upon them with that affection that they owe, that they may be called in again, and they may be, not through blood nor through diſorder, admitted again into that power, and to that glory, that God in their birth intended to them. I ſhall pray with all my ſoul for the happineſs of this State, of this Nation, that the blood which is here ſpilt may even be the laſt that may fall among us; and truly I ſhould lay down my life with as much chearfulneſs as ever perſon did, if I conceived that there would be no more Blood follow us; for a State or affairs that are built upon blood, is a foundation for the moſt part that doth not proſper.

After the bleſſing that I give to the Nation, to the Kingdom, and truly to the Parliament, I do wiſh with all my heart, happineſs and a bleſſing to all thoſe that have been Authors in this buſineſs; and truly, that have been Authors in this very work that brings us hither: I do not only forgive them, but I pray heartily and really for them, as God will forgive my ſins, ſo I deſire God may forgive them.

I have a particular relation, as I am Chancellor of *Cambridge*, and truly I muſt here, ſince it is the laſt of my prayers, pray to God that that Univerſity may go on in that happy way which it is in, that God may make it a Nurſery to plant thoſe perſons that may be diſtributed to the Kingdom, that the ſouls of the people may receive a great benefit, and a great advantage by them, and (I hope) God will reward them for their kindneſs, and their affections that I have found from them. * I have ſaid what Religion I have been bred in, what Religion I have been born in, what Religion I have practiſed, I began with it, and I muſt end with it. I told you that my actions and my life have not been agreeable to my breeding. I have told

* *Looking towards* M. Bolton.

told you likewiſe that the Family where I was bred, hath been an exemplary Family (I may ſay ſo, I hope, without vanity) of much affection to Religion, and of much faithfulneſs to this Kingdom and to this State. I have endeavoured to do thoſe actions that became an honeſt man, and a good Engliſh-man, and which became a good Chriſtian. I have been willing to oblige thoſe that have been in trouble, thoſe that have been in perſecution, and truly I find a great reward of it; for I have found their prayers and their kindneſs now in this diſtreſs, and in this condition, and I think it a great reward, I pray God reward them for it.

I am a great ſinner, and I hope God will be pleaſed to hear my prayers, to give me faith to truſt in him, that as he hath called me to death at this place, he will make it but a paſſage to an eternal life through Jeſus Chriſt, which I truſt to, which I rely upon, and which I expect by the mercy of God. And ſo I pray God bleſs you all, and ſend that you may ſee this to be the laſt execution, and the laſt blood that is likely to be ſpilt among you. And then turning to the ſide-rayl, he prayed for a good ſpace of time; after which Mr. *Bolton* ſaid:

My Lord, now look upon him whom you have truſted. My Lord, I hope that here is your laſt prayer, there will no more prayers remain, but praiſes; and I hope that after this day is over, there will a day begin that ſhall never have end; and I look upon this (my Lord) the morning of it, the morning of that day. My Lord, You know where your fulneſs lies, where your riches lye, where is your only rock to anchor on; you know there is fulneſs in Chriſt: If the Lord come not in with fulneſs of comfort to you, yet reſolve to wait upon him while you live, and to truſt in him when you die; and then ſay, I will die here, I will periſh at thy feet, I will be found dead at the feet of Jeſus Chriſt. Certainly, he that came to ſeek and ſave loſt ſinners, will not reject loſt ſinners when they come to ſeek him; He that intreateth us to come, will not ſleight us when we come to intreat him. My Lord, there is enough there, and fix your heart there, and fix your eyes there, that eye of Faith, and that eye of Hope; exerciſe theſe Graces now, there will be no exerciſe hereafter. As your Lordſhip ſaid, here take an end of Faith, and take an end of Hope, and take a farewel of Repentance, and all theſe; and welcome God, and welcome Chriſt, and welcome Glory and welcome Happineſs to all eternity; and ſo it will be

an happy paſſage then, if it be a paſſage here from miſery to happineſs. And though it be but a ſad way, yet, if it will bring you into the preſence of joy, although it be a valley of tears, although it be a ſhadow of death, yet if God will pleaſe to bring you, and make it a paſſage to that happineſs, welcome Lord. And I doubt not but God will give you an heart to taſte ſome ſweetneſs and love in this bitter Potion, and to ſee ſomething of mercy and goodneſs to you, and ſhew you ſome ſign and token of good, ſo that your ſoul may ſee that which we have had already experience of (bleſſed be God for it) many experiences, many expreſſions not only in words, nor tears; God hath not left us without much comfort and evidence, and I hope (my Lord) *You that have given ſo many Evidences to us, I hope You want none Your ſelf, but that the Lord will be pleaſed to ſupport You, and bear up Your Spirit, and if there want evidence, there is reliance, my ſecurity lies not in my knowing that I ſhall come to Heaven, and come to Glory, but in my reſting and relying upon him; when the Anchor of Faith is thrown out, there may be ſhakings and toſſings, but there is ſafety; nothing ſhall interrupt ſafety, although ſomething may interrupt ſecurity: my ſafety is ſure, although I apprehend it not: and what if I go to God in the dark? What if I come to him, as* Nicodemus *did, ſtaggering in the night? It is a night of trouble, a night of darkneſs, though I come trembling and ſtaggering in this night, yet I ſhall be ſure to find comfort and fixedneſs in him. And the Lord of heaven be the ſtrength, ſtay and ſupport of Your ſoul, and the Lord furniſh You with all thoſe graces which may carry you into the boſome of the Lord Jeſus, that when You expire this life, You may be able to expire it into him, in whom You may begin to live to all Eternity; and that is my humble Prayer.*

Holland. Mr. *Bolton*, God hath given me long time in this world: he hath carried me through many great accidents of Fortune, he hath at laſt brought me down into a condition, where I find my ſelf brought to an end, for a diſaffection to this State, to this Parliament, that (as I ſaid before) I did believe no body in the world more unlikely to have expected to ſuffer for that cauſe; I look upon it as a great judgment of God for my ſins. And truly, Sir, ſince that the death is violent, I am the leſs troubled with it, becauſe of thoſe violent deaths that I have ſeen before; principally my Saviour, that hath ſhewed us the way, how and in what manner

manner he hath done it, and for what cauſe, I am the more comforted, I am the more rejoyced. It is not long ſince the King my maſter paſſed in the ſame manner; and truly I hope that his purpoſes and intentions were ſuch as a man may not be aſhamed not only to follow him in the way that was taken with him, but likewiſe not aſhamed of his purpoſes, if God had given him life. I have often diſputed with him concerning many things of this kind, and I conceive his ſufferings, and his better knowledge, and better underſtanding (if God had ſpared him life) might have made him a Prince very happy towards himſelf, and very happy towards this Kingdom. I have ſeen and known that thoſe bleſſed ſouls in heaven have paſſed thither by the gate of ſorrow, and many by the gate of violence; and ſince it is Gods pleaſure to diſpoſe me this way, I ſubmit my ſoul to him, with all comfort, and with all hope, that he hath made this my end, and this my concluſion, that though I be low in death, yet nevertheleſs this lowneſs ſhall raiſe me to the higheſt glory for ever.

Truly, I have not ſaid much in publick to the people, concerning the particular Actions that I conceive I have done by my counſels in this Kingdom, I conceive they are well known, it were ſomething of vanity (methinks,) to take notice of them here: I'le rather die with them, with the comfort of them in my own boſome, and that I never intended in this action, or any action that ever I did in my life, either malice, or blood-ſhed, or prejudice to any creature that lives. For that which concerns my Religion, I made my profeſſion before of it, how I was bred, and in what manner I was bred, in a Family that was looked upon to be no little notorious in oppoſition to ſome liberties they have conceived then to be taken; and truly, there was ſome mark upon me, as if I had ſome taint of it, even throughout my whole ways that I have taken: every body knows what my affections have been to many that have ſuffered, to many that have been in troubles in this Kingdom, I endeavoured to relieve them, I endeavoured to oblige them, I thought I was tyed ſo by my Conſcience, I thought it by my charity, and truly, very much by my Breeding; God hath now brought me to the laſt inſtant of my time, all that I can ſay, and all that I can adhere unto is this; That as I am a great ſinner, ſo I have a great Saviour;

that

that as he hath given me here a fortune to come publickly in a ſhew of ſhame in the way of this ſuffering (truly I underſtand it not to be ſo) I underſtand it to be a glory; a glory, when I conſider who hath gone before me, and a glory when I conſider I had no end in it, but what I conceive to be the ſervice of God, the King and the Kingdom, and therefore my heart is not charged much with any thing in that particular, ſince I conceive God will accept of the intention, whatſoever the action ſeems to be. I am going to die, and the Lord receive my Soul; I have no relyance but upon Chriſt: for my ſelf, I do acknowledge that I am the unworthieſt of ſinners; my life hath been a vanity, and a continued ſin, and God may juſtly bring me to this end, for the ſins I have committed againſt him, and were there nothing elſe but the iniquities that I have committed in the Way of my Life, I look upon this as a great Juſtice of God, to bring me to this Suffering, and to bring me to this Puniſhment; And thoſe Hands that have been moſt active in it, if any ſuch there have been; I pray God forgive them; I pray God that there may not be many ſuch Trophies of their Victories, but that this may be (as I ſaid before) the laſt Shew, that this People ſhall ſee, of the Blood of Perſons of Condition, of Perſons of Honour: I might ſay ſomething of the Way of our Tryal, which certainly hath been as extraordinary, as any thing I think hath ever been ſeen in this Kingdom; but becauſe that I would not ſeem as if I made ſome complaint, I will not ſo much as mention it, becauſe no body ſhall believe I repine at their actions, that I repine at my Fortune; it is the will of God, it is the hand of God under whom I fall; I take it entirely from him, I ſubmit my ſelf to him, I ſhall deſire to roul my ſelf into the Arms of my bleſſed Saviour; and when I come to this * place, when I bow down my ſelf there, I hope God will raiſe me up: and when I bid farewel, as I muſt now, to Hope and to Faith, that Love will abide; I know nothing to accompany the ſoul out of this World, but Love; and I hope that Love will bring me to the Fountain of Glory in Heaven, through the Arms, Mediation, and the Mercy of my Saviour *Jeſus Chriſt*, in whom I believe, O Lord help my Unbelief.

* *Pointing to the Block.*

Hodges. *The Lord make over unto You the righteouſneſs of his*

his own Son, it is that Treasure that he hath bestowed upon You; and the Lord shew You the Light of his Countenance, and fill You full with his joy and kindness. O my dear Lord, the Lord of Heaven and Earth be with You, and the Lord of Heaven and Earth bring You to that Safety.

Holland. I shall make as much hast as I can to come to that glory, and the Lord of Heaven and Earth take my soul; I look upon my self entirely in Him, and hope to find mercy through Him, I expect it, and through that Fountain that is opened for Sin and for Uncleanness, my soul must receive it; for did I rest in any thing else, I have nothing but sin and corruption in me; I have nothing but that, which in stead of being carried up into the Arms of God, and of Glory, I have nothing but may throw me down into Hell.

Bolton. *But my Lord, when you are cloathed with the righteousness of another, you will appear glorious, though now sinful in your self: The Apostle saith,* I desire not to be found in my own righteousness, *and when you are cloathed with another, the Lord will own you, and I shall say but thus much: Doubt not that ever God will deny salvation to sinners that come to him, when the end of all his death and sufferings was the salvation of sinners, when as I say the whole end, and the whole design, and the great work that God had to do in the world, by the death of Christ, wherein he laid out all his counsels, and infinite wisdom, and mercy, and goodness, beyond which there was a* Non ultra *in Gods thoughts, when this was the great design, and great end, the salvation of poor sinners, that poor souls should come over to him and live; certainly, when sinners come he will not reject, he will not refuse. And, my Lord, do but think of this, the greatest work that ever was done in the world, was the blood of Christ that was shed, never any thing like it: And this blood of Christ that was shed, was shed for them that come, if not for them, for none, it was in vain else: You see the Devils they are out of capacity of good by it, the Angels they have no need of it, wicked men will not come, and there are but a few that come over, but a few that come over, and should he deny them, there were no end nor fruit of the blood and sufferings of the Lord Jesus: and had your Lordship been with Christ in that bloody agony, when he was in that bloody sweat, sweating drops of blood, if you had asked him, Lord, what art thou now a doing, art*

thou

thou not now reconciling an angry God and me together, art thou not pacifying the wrath of God? art thou not interposing thy self between the justice of God and my soul? Would he not have said, yea? and surely then he will not deny it now. My Lord, his Passions are over, his Compassions still remain, and the larger and greater, because he is gone up into an higher place that he may throw down more abundance of his mercy and grace upon you; and, my Lord, think of that infinite love, that abundance of riches in Christ: I am lost, I am empty, I have nothing, I am poor, I am sinful; be it so, as bad as God will make me, and as vile as I possibly can conceive my self, I am willing to be: but when I have said all, the more I advance that riches, and honour that grace of God. And why should I doubt when by this he puts me into a capacity, into a disposition for him to shew me mercy, that by this I may the better advance the riches of his grace, and say Grace, grace to the Lord to all eternity, that God should own such a Creature that deserves nothing; and the less I deserve, the more conspicuous is his grace: And this is certain, the riches of his grace he throweth amongst men, that the glory of his grace might be given to himself; if we can give him but the glory of his grace, we shall never doubt to partake of the riches of it; and that fulness, My Lord, that fulness be your comfort, that fulness of Mercy, that fulness of love, that fulness of righteousness and power be now your riches, and your only stay, and the Lord interpose himself between God and you, as your Faith hath endeavoured to interpose him between God and your soul; so I doubt not there he stands (my Lord) to plead for you, and when you are not able to do any thing your self, yet lie down at the feet of him that is a merciful Saviour, and knows what you would desire, and wait upon him while you live, and trust in him when you die, there is riches enough and mercy enough, if he open not, yet die at his door, say there I'le die, there is mercy enough.

Holland. And here is the place where I lie down before him, from whence I hope he will raise me to an eternal glory through my Saviour, upon whom I relie, from whom only I can expect mercy: into his arms I commend my spirit, into his bleeding arms, that when I leave this bleeding body that must lie upon this place, he will receive that soul that ariseth out of it, and receive it into his eternal mercy, through the merits, through the worthiness,

thineſs, through the Mediation of Chriſt that hath purchaſed it with his own moſt precious blood.

Bolton. *My Lord, though you conclude here, I hope you begin above, and though you put an end here, I hope there will never be an end of the mercy and goodneſs of God: and if this be the morning of eternity, if this be the riſe of glory, if God pleaſeth to throw you down here, to raiſe you up for ever, ſay, welcom Lord, welcom that death that ſhall make way for life, and welcom any condition that ſhall throw me down here, to bring me into the poſſeſſion of Jeſus Chriſt.*

Hodges. *My Lord, if you have made a Deed of Gift of your ſelf to Jeſus Chriſt, to be found only in him; I am confident you ſhall ſtand at the day of Chriſt; my dear Lord, we ſhall meet in happineſs.*

Holland. Chriſt Jeſus receive my Soul, my Soul hungers and thirſts after him, Clouds are gathering, and I truſt in God through all my heavineſs, and I hope through all impediments, he will ſettle my intereſt in him, and throw off all the claim that Satan can make unto it, and that he will carry my Soul in deſpight of all the calumnies, and all that the Devil, and Satan can invent, will carry it into eternal mercy, there to receive the bleſſedneſs of his preſence to all Eternity.

Hodges. *My Lord it was his own by Creation, it is his own now by Redemption and purchaſe; and it is likewiſe his own by reſignation: O my Lord, look therefore up to the Lamb of God, that ſits at the right hand of God, to take away the ſins of the World, O that Lamb of God!*

Holland. That Lamb of God into his hands I commit my Soul: and that Lamb of God that ſits upon the Throne to judge thoſe 24. that fall down before him, I hope he will be pleaſed to look downward, and judge me with mercy that fall down before him, and that adore him, that only truſts upon his Mercy, for his compaſſion; and that as he hath purchaſed me, he would lay his claim unto me now, and receive me.

Bolton. *My Lord, think of this,* there is no condemnation to them who are in Chriſt; who is it that can condemn? it is Chriſt that juſtifies: *and therefore look now upon this, (My Lord,) upon this Chriſt, upon this Chriſt that juſtifies: Hell, Death, Sin, Satan; nothing ſhall be able to condemn,* it is Chriſt that juſtifies you.

Holland.

Holland. Indeed if Chriſt juſtify, no body can condemn, and I truſt in God, in his juſtification; though there is a confuſion here without us, and though there are wonders and ſtaring that now diſquiet, yet I truſt that I ſhall be carried into that mercy, that God will receive my Soul.

Bolton. *I doubt not my Lord, but as you are a Spectacle of pity here, ſo you are an object of Gods mercy above.*

Holland. Then the Earl of *Holland* looking over among the people, pointing to a Souldier, ſaid, This honeſt man took me a priſoner, you little thought I ſhould have been brought to this, when I delivered my ſelf to you upon conditions: and eſpying Captain *Watſon* on Horſe-back, putting off his hat ſaid to him, God be with you Sir, God reward you Sir.

Bolton. *My Lord, throw your ſelf into the arms of mercy, and ſay, there I will Anchor, and there I will die, he is a Saviour for us in all conditions, whither ſhould we go? he hath the words of eternal life: and upon him do you reſt, wait while you live, and even truſt in Death.*

Holland. Here muſt now be my Anchor, a great Storm makes me find my anchor; and but in ſtorms no body truſts to his anchor; and therefore I muſt truſt upon my anchor (*Upon that God*, ſaid Mr. *Bolton*, *upon whom your Anchor truſts*) yea, God I hope, will Anchor my Soul faſt upon Chriſt Jeſus, and if I die not with that clearneſs and that heartineſs that you ſpeak of, truly I will truſt in God, though he kill me I will relie upon him, and in the Mercy of my Saviour.

Bolton. *There is mercy enough, my Lord, and to ſpare, you ſhall not need to doubt; they ſhall never go begging to another door (my Lord) that come to him.* Then the *Earl of* Holland *ſpeaking to Mr.* Hodges, *ſaid, I pray God reward you for all your kindneſs, and pray as you have done, inſtruct my Family, that they may ſerve God with faithfulneſs and holineſs, with more diligence than truly I have been careful to preſs them unto: you have the charge of the ſame place, you may do much for them, and I recommend them to your kindneſs, and the goodneſs of your Conſcience.*

Dr. Sibbald. *ſtanding upon the Scaffold, in his paſſage to Col.* Beecher *expreſſed himſelf thus to his Lordſhip.*

Dr. Sibbald. *The Lord liſt up the light of his Countenance upon you, and you ſhall be ſafe.*

Holland. Then the Earl of *Holland* embraced Leiutenant Col. *Beecher*, and took his leave of him: After which, he came to Mr. *Bolton*, and having embraced him, returned him many thanks for his great pains and affections to his Soul, desiring God to reward him, and return his love into his bosom. Mr. *Bolton* said to him, The Lord God support you, and be seen in this great extremity; the Lord reveal and discover himself to you; and make your death the passage unto eternal life——

Then the Earl of *Holland* turning to the Executioner, said, Here, my friend, let my Cloaths and my body alone, there is ten pounds for thee, that is better than my Cloaths, I am sure of it.

Executioner. *Will your Lordship please to give me a Sign when I shall strike? And then his Lordship said, you have room enough here, have you not? and the Executioner said, Yes.*

Bolton. *The Lord be your strength, there is riches in him; The Lord of Heaven impart himself to you, he is able to save to the uttermost: We cannot fall so low as to fall below the everlasting arms of God; and therefore the Lord be a support and stay to you in your low condition, that he will be pleased to make this an advantage to that Life and Glory that will make amends for all.*

Holland. Then the Earl of *Holland* turning to the Executioner, said, Friend, do you hear me, if you take up my head, do not take off my Cap. Then turning to his Servants, he said to one, Fare you well, thou art an honest fellow; and to another, God be with thee, thou art an honest man: and then said, Stay, I will kneel down, and ask God forgiveness; and then prayed for a pretty space with seeming earnestness.

Bolton. *The Lord grant you may find life in death.*

Holland. Which is the way of lying? (which they shewed him) and then going to the front of the Scaffold, he said to the people, God bless you all, and God deliver you from any such accident as may bring you to any such death as is violent, either by War, or by these accidents, but that there may be Peace among you, and you may find that these accidents that have happened to us, may be the last that may happen in this Kingdom; it is that I desire, it is that I beg of God, next the saving of my Soul: I pray God

God give all happineſs to this Kingdom, to this people, and this Nation: and then turning to the Executioner, ſaid, How muſt I lie? I know not.

Executioner. *Lie down flat upon your belly: and then having laid himſelf down, he ſaid, muſt I lie cloſer?*

Executioner. *Yes, and backwarder.*

Holland. I will tell you when you ſhall ſtrike; and then as he lay, ſeemed to pray with much affection for a ſhort ſpace, and then lifting up his head, ſaid, where is the man? and ſeeing the Executioner by him, he ſaid, ſtay while I give the ſign; and preſently after ſtretching out his hand, and the Executioner being not fully ready, he ſaid, now, now, and juſt as the words were coming out of his mouth, the Executioner at one blow ſevered his head from his body.

Arthur Lord *Capel* his Speech on the Scaffold, immediately before his death, *March* 9. 1649.

The Execution of the Lord of Holland *being thus performed, the Lord* Capel *was brought to the Scaffold as the former, and in the way to the Scaffold, he put off his Hat to the people on both ſides, looking very auſterely about him: And being come upon the Scaffold, Lieut. Col.* Beecher *ſaid to him,* Is your Chaplain here?

Capel. No, I have taken my leave of him: and perceiving ſome of his Servants to weep, he ſaid, Gentlemen, refrain your ſelves, refrain your ſelves; and turning to Lieut. Col. *Beecher,* he ſaid, what? did the Lords ſpeak with their Hats off, or no?

Col. Beecher. *With their Hats off: And then coming to the front of the Scaffold, he ſaid, I ſhall hardly be underſtood here I think, and then began his Speech as followeth.*

Capel. The concluſion that I made with thoſe that ſent me hither, and are the cauſe of this violent death of mine, ſhall be the beginning of what I ſhall ſay to you: When I made an addreſs to them (which was the laſt) I told them with much ſincerity, that I would pray to the God of all mercies that they might be partakers of his ineſtimable and boundleſs mercies in Jeſus Chriſt; and truly I ſtill pray that prayer; and I beſeech the God of Heaven forgive any injury they have done to me; from my ſoul I wiſh it. And truly, this I tell you as a Chriſtian, to let you ſee I am a Chriſtian. But it is neceſſary I ſhould tell you ſomewhat more, that I am a Proteſtant: And truly, I am a Proteſtant, and very much in love with the profeſſion of it, after the manner as it was eſtabliſhed in *England* by the thirty nine Articles; a bleſſed way of profeſſion, and ſuch an one as truly I never knew any ſo good. I am ſo far from being a Papiſt, which ſome body have (truly) very unworthily at ſome time charged me withal, that truly, I profeſs to you, that though I love good works and commend good works, yet I hold they have nothing at all to do in the matter of ſalvation; my Anchor-hold is this, *That Chriſt loved me, and gave himſelf for me*; that is that that I reſt upon.

And truly ſomething I ſhall ſay to you as a Citizen of the whole world, and in that conſideration I am here condemned to die, truly contrary to the Law that governs all the world, that is, the Law of the Sword: I had the protection of that for my life, and the honour of it; but truly, I will not trouble you much with that, becauſe in another place I have ſpoken very largely and liberally about it. I believe you will hear by other means what Arguments I uſed in that caſe: But truly, that, that is ſtranger, you that are Engliſh-men behold here an Engliſh-man before you, and acknowledged a Peer, not condemned to die by any Law of *England*, not by any Law of *England*; and, ſhall I tell you more? (which is ſtrangeſt of all) contrary to all the Laws of *England* that I know of. And truly I will tell you, in the matter of the civil part of my death, and the Cauſe that I have maintained, I die (I take it) for maintaining the fifth Commandment, injoyned by God himſelf, which enjoyns reverence and obedience to Parents: All Divines on all hands, though they contradict one another in many ſeveral opinions, yet all Divines on all hands do

do acknowledge, that here is intended Magiſtracy and Order; and certainly I have obeyed that Magiſtracy and that Order under which I have lived, which I was bound to obey: and truly, I do ſay very confidently, that I do die here for keeping, for obeying that fifth Commandment given by God himſelf, and written with his own finger. And now, Gentlemen, I will take this opportunity to tell you, That I cannot imitate a better, nor a greater ingenuity than his, that ſaid of himſelf, *For ſuffering an unjuſt judgment upon another, himſelf was brought to ſuffer by an unjuſt judgement.* Truly, Gentlemen, that God may be glorified, that all men that are concerned in it may take the occaſion of it, of humble repentance to God Almighty for it, I do here profeſs to you, that I did give my Vote to that Bill againſt the Earl of *Strafford*; I doubt not but God Almighty hath waſhed that away with a more precious blood, the blood of his own Son, and my dear Saviour Jeſus Chriſt; and I hope he will waſh it away from all thoſe that are guilty of it: truly, this I may ſay, *I* had not the leaſt part nor degree of malice in doing of it; but *I* muſt confeſs again to Gods glory, and the accuſation of mine own frailty, and the frailty of my Nature, that truly it was unworthy Cowardize, not to reſiſt ſo great a torrent as carried that buſineſs at that time. And truly, this *I* think *I* am moſt guilty of, of not courage enough in it, but malice *I* had none; but whatſoever it was, GOD *I* am ſure hath pardoned it, hath given me the aſſurance of it, that Chriſt Jeſus his blood hath waſhed it away; and truly, *I* do from my Soul wiſh, that all men that have any ſtain by it, may ſeriouſly repent, and receive a remiſſion and pardon from God for it. And now, Gentlemen, we have had an occaſion by this intimation to remember his Majeſty, our KING that laſt was; and I cannot ſpeak of him nor think of it, but truly, *I* muſt needs ſay, that in my opinion, that have had time to conſider all the images of all the greateſt and vertuouſeſt Princes in the world; and truly, in my opinion, there was not a more vertuous, and more ſufficient Prince known in the World, than our gracious King CHARLES that died laſt: God Almighty preſerve our King that now is, his Son; God ſend him more fortunate and longer days; God Almighty ſo aſſiſt him, that he may exceed both the vertues and ſufficiences of his Father: For certainly, *I* that have been a Coun-

cellour to him, and have lived long with him, and in a time when diſcovery is eaſily enough made, for he was young (he was about thirteen, fourteen, fifteen, or ſixteen years of age) thoſe years I was with him, truly, I never ſaw greater hopes of vertue in any young perſon than in him; great judgment, great underſtanding, great apprehenſion, much honour in his nature, and truly a very perfect Engliſhman in his inclination; and *I* pray God reſtore him to this Kingdom, and unite the Kingdoms one unto another, and ſend a great happineſs both to you and to him, that he may long live and Reign among you, and that that Family may Reign till thy Kingdom come, that is, while all temporal power is conſummated: *I* beſeech God of his mercy give much happineſs to this your King, and to you that in it ſhall be his Subjects by the grace of Jeſus Chriſt.

Truly I like my beginning ſo well, that I will make my concluſion with it, that is, That God Almighty would confer, of his infinite and ineſtimable grace and mercy, to thoſe that are the cauſers of my coming hither, I pray God give them as much mercy as their hearts can wiſh; and truly, for my part, I will not accuſe any one of them of malice, truly I will not; nay, I will not think there was any malice in them: what other ends there is, I know not, nor will I examine; but let it be what it will, from my very ſoul I forgive them every one. And ſo the Lord of Heaven bleſs you all, God Almighty be infinite in goodneſs and mercy to you, and direct you in thoſe ways of obedience to his commands, to His Majeſty, that this Kingdom may be an happy and glorious Nation again, and that your King may be an happy King in ſo good and ſo obedient people, God Almighty keep you all, God Almighty preſerve this Kingdom, God Almighty preſerve you all.

Then turning about, and looking for the Executioner (who was gone off the Scaffold) ſaid; which is the Gentleman? which is the man? Anſwer was made, He is coming; He then ſaid, Stay, I muſt pull off my Doublet firſt, and my Waſtcoat: and then the Executioner being come upon the Scaffold, the Lord *Capel* ſaid, O friend! prethee come hither: Then the Executioner kneeling down, the Lord *Capel* ſaid, I forgive thee from my ſoul, and not only forgive thee, but I ſhall pray to God to give thee all grace for a better life: There is five pounds for thee; and truly, for my

my clothes, and thoſe things, if there be any thing due to you for it, you ſhall be fully recompenced: but I deſire my body may not be ſtripped here, and no body to take notice of my body but my own ſervants. Look you friend, this I ſhall deſire of you, that when I lye down, you would give me a time for a particular ſhort prayer.

Lieu. Col. Beecher, *Make your own ſign my Lord.*

Capel. Stay a little: Which ſide do you ſtand upon? (ſpeaking to the Executioner;) Stay, I think I ſhould lay my hands forward that way (*pointing fore-right*) and anſwer being made, Yes; he ſtood ſtill a little while, and then ſaid, God Almighty bleſs all this people, God Almighty ſtanch this blood, God Amighty ſtanch, ſtanch, ſtanch this iſſue of blood; this will not do the buſineſs, God Almighty find out another way to do it. And then turning to one of his ſervants, ſaid, *Baldwin*, I cannot ſee any thing that belongs to my wife; but I muſt deſire thee and beſeech her to reſt wholly upon Jeſus Chriſt, to be contented and fully ſatisfied: and then ſpeaking to his ſervants, he ſaid, God keep you; and Gentlemen, let me now do a buſineſs quickly, privately, and pray let me have your prayers at the moment of death, that God would receive my ſoul.

Lieu. Col. Beecher. *I wiſh it.*

Capel. Pray at the moment of ſtriking joyn your prayers, but make no noiſe (turning to his ſervants) it is inconvenient at this time.

Servant. *My Lord put on your Cap.*

Capel. Should I, what will that do me good? Stay a little, it is well as it is now. *As he was putting up his hair.*

And then turning to the Executioner, he ſaid, honeſt man, I have forgiven thee, therefore ſtrike boldly; from my ſoul I do it.

Then a Gentleman ſpeaking to him, he ſaid, Nay, prethee be contented, be quiet, good Mr. ——— be quiet.

Then turning to the Executioner, he ſaid, Well, you are ready when I am ready, are you not? and ſtretching out his hands, he ſaid, Then pray ſtand off Gentlemen. Then going to the front of the Scaffold, he ſaid to the People, Gentlemen, though I doubt not of it, yet I think it convenient to ask it of you, That you would all joyn in prayers with me, That God would mercifully receive my ſoul, and that for his alone mercies in Chriſt Jeſus. God Almighty keep you all. Exe-

Execut. *My Lord ſhall I put up your hair?*

Capel. I, I, prethee do; and then as he ſtood, lifting up hands and eyes, he ſaid, O God, I do with a perfect and a willing heart ſubmit to thy will: O God! I do moſt willingly humble my ſelf: and then kneeling down, ſaid, I will try firſt how I can lye; and laying his head over the block, ſaid, Am I well now?

Execut. *Yes.*

And then as he lay with both his hands ſtretched out, he ſaid to the Executioner, Here lie both my hands out, when I lift up my hands thus [*lifting up his right hand*] then you may ſtrike.

And then after he had ſaid a ſhort prayer, he lifted up his right hand, and the Executioner at one blow ſevered his head from his body, which was taken up by his ſervants, and put (with his body) into a Coffin as the former.

The Speech of Col. John Morris, *lately Governour of* Pomfret *Caſtle, at the place of his Execution at* York, Auguſt 23. 1649

WHen he was brought out of priſon, looking upon the Sledge that was there ſet for him, lifting up his eyes to Heaven, knocking upon his breaſt, he ſaid, I am as willing to go to my death, as to put off my doublet to go to bed, I deſpiſe the ſhame as well as the Croſs, I know I am going to a joyful place: with many like expreſſions.

When the Poſt met him about St. *James*'s Church that was ſent to the Parliament to mediate for a reprieve; and told him he could not prevail in it, he ſaid, Sir, I pray God reward you for your pains, I hope and am well aſſured to find a better pardon than any they can give, my hope is not in man, but in the living God.

At the place of Execution, he made this profeſſion of his faith, his breeding, his cauſe he had fought in.

Gentlemen, firſt I was bred up in the true Proteſtant Religion, having my education and breeding from that honoured houſe my Dear Lord and Maſter the Earl of *Strafford*,

Strafford, which place I dare boldly ſay, was as well governed and ruled as ever any yet was before it, I much doubt, better than any will be after it; unleſs it pleaſe God to put a period to theſe diſtracted times: this Faith and Religion, I ſay, I have been bred in, and I thank God I have hitherto lived in, without the leaſt wavering, and now I am reſolved by Gods aſſiſtance to die in.

Thoſe pains are nothing, if compared to thoſe dolours and pains which Jeſus Chriſt our Saviour hath ſuffered for us; when in a bloody ſweat he endured the wrath of God, the pain of Hell, and the curſed and ſhameful death which was due to our ſins; therefore I praiſe the Lord that I am not plagued with far more grievous puniſhment, that the like hath befallen others, who undoubtedly are moſt glorious and bleſſed Saints with Chriſt in Heaven: It is the Lords affliction, and who will not take any affliction in good part when it comes from the hand of God? and what? ſhall we receive good from the hand of God, and not receive evil? And though I deſire, as I am carnal, that this cup may depart from me, yet not my will, but thy will be done. Death brings unto the godly an end of ſinning, and of all miſeries due unto ſin, ſo that after death there ſhall be no more ſorrow, nor cry, nor pain, for *God ſhall wipe away all tears from our eyes*; by death our ſouls ſhall be delivered from thraldom, and this *corruptible body ſhall put on incorruption, and this mortal immortality.*

Therefore bleſſed are they that are delivered out of ſo vile a world, and freed from ſuch a body of bondage and corruption; the Soul ſhall enjoy immediate Communion with God in everlaſting bliſs and glory, it takes us from the miſeries of this world, and ſociety of ſinners, to the City of the living God, the celeſtial *Jeruſalem.*

I bleſs God I am thought worthy to ſuffer for his Name, and for ſo good a cauſe; and if I had a thouſand lives, I would willingly lay them down for the cauſe of my King, the Lords *Anointed*: the Scripture commands us to fear God and honour the King, to be ſubject to every Ordinance of man for the Lords ſake, whether to the King as ſupream, or to thoſe that are in authority under him: I have been always faithful to my Truſt: and though I have been moſt baſely accuſed for betraying *Leverpool*, yet I take God to witneſs it is a moſt falſe aſperſion, for I was

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then ſick in my bed, and knew not of the delivering of it, till the Officers and Souldiers had done it without my conſent, and then I was carried priſoner to Sir *John Meldrum*; afterwards I came down into the Country, and ſeeing I could not live quietly at home, I was perſwaded by Colonel *Forbes*, Colonel *Overton*, Lieut. Colonel *Fairfax*, whom I took for my good friends, to march in their Troops; which I did, but with intention ſtill to do my King the beſt ſervice when occaſion was, and ſo I did; and I pray God to turn the hearts of all the Souldiers to their lawful Soveraign, that this Land may enjoy Peace, which till then it will never do: and though thou kill me, yet will I put my truſt in thee; wherefore I truſt in God he will not fail me nor forſake me. Then he took his Bible, and read divers Pſalms fit for his own occaſion and conſolation, and then put up divers prayers, ſome publickly, and ſome privately, the publick was this which follows;

His Prayer.

WElcom bleſſed hour, the period of my Pilgrimage, the term of my Bondage, the end of my cares, the cloſe of my ſins, the bound of my travels, the goal of my race, and the haven of my hopes; I have fought a long fight in much weakneſs, I have finiſh'd my courſe, though in great faintneſs, and the Crown of my joy is, that through the ſtrength of thy grace, I have both kept the true faith, and have fought for my King, the Lords Anointed's cauſe without any wavering, for which, and in which I die; I do willingly reſign my fleſh, I deſpiſe the World, and I defie the Devil, who hath no part nor ſhare in me; and now what is my hope? my hope Lord Jeſu is even in thee, for I know that thou my Redeemer liveſt, and that thou wilt immediately receive my Soul, and raiſe up my body alſo at the laſt day, and I ſhall ſee thee in my fleſh with theſe eyes, and none other: And now, O Lord, let thy Spirit of comfort help mine infirmities, and make ſupplication for me with ſighs and groans that cannot be expreſſed; I ſubmit my ſelf wholly to thy will, I commit my Soul to thee as my faithful Redeemer, who haſt bought it with thy moſt precious Blood. I confeſs to all the world, I know no name under heaven by which I may be ſaved, but thine my Jeſu, my Saviour, I renounce all confidence

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in any merits ſave thine. I thankfully acknowledge all thy bleſſings, I unfeignedly bewail all my ſins, I ſtedfaſtly believe all thy promiſes, I heartily forgive all my Enemies, I willingly leave all my Friends, I utterly loath all earthly comforts, and I entirely long for thy coming. Come Lord Jeſus, come quickly, Lord Jeſus, receive my Spirit.

The private were to himſelf, his Hat being before his eyes; after this he put up divers ſhort Ejaculations: As, I know my Redeemer liveth, Father into thy hands I commend my Spirit, for thou haſt redeemed it, O God, thou God of truth. Lord Jeſus receive my Spirit, and many the like, and ſo he yielded to Death.

The Speech of Cornet *Michael Blackburn* immediately before his death, *Aug.* 23. 1649. Executed the ſame day at *York.*

It is expected I ſhould ſay ſomething, and indeed it is my deſire to ſay ſomething and but a little.

I Am not a Gentleman by birth, but my Parents are of an honeſt quality and condition. I was brought up in the Proteſtant Religion, and in that Religion I have lived, and in that I now die. I have ſome five or ſix years ſince engaged in this War, wherein I had no other end or intention but to do my King true and faithful ſervice, according to my duty and the dictate of my Conſcience; I have not done ſo much ſervice as I deſired, but I have been always faithful to him, and wiſh I could have done him more; and for his Son the King that now is, I wonder any man of this Kingdom ſhould have the boldneſs or impudence to lift up his hand againſt him, to keep him from his Crown whereof he is Heir apparent, and hath as good right and title to it by his Birth-right, as any man living hath of his Inheritance or Poſſeſſion: *I pray God bleſs him, forgive all my Enemies, and Lord Jeſus receive my Spirit.*

A Perfect Relation of the Death and ſufferings of the moſt Loyal and Valiant Marqueſs of Montroſs, *General of His Majeſties Forces in the Kingdom of* Scotland, *who was Inhumanly Executed at* Edenburgh *The Seventeenth of* May, 1650. *with the true Copy of his Speech Immediately before his Execution.*

THE Parliament of *Scotland* being informed that the Marqueſs of *Montroſs* was taken, and fore-ſeeing that his countenance and carriage might gain him ſome favour amongſt the People, thought fit to give out their ſentence againſt him before he ſhould come to *Edenburgh*. And therefore upon the 17. of *May anno* 1650. in the morning, they appointed a Committee to prepare and give in their opinions what was fitteſt to be done with him, where the ſame fore-noon they gave in their report in writing to this effect: That ſo ſoon as he ſhould come to the Town, he ſhould be met at the Gate by the Magiſtrates, and Hangman; That he ſhould be tyed with cords upon a Cart bare-headed, and the Hangman to ride upon the horſe that drew the Cart, covered before him, and ſo to be brought through the Town. That he ſhould be hanged on a Gibbet at the Croſs of *Edenburgh* untill he died, his Hiſtory, and Declaration hanging about his neck, and ſo hang three hours in publick view of all the people: after which he ſhould be beheaded, and quartered. His head to be fixt upon the Priſon houſe of *Edenburgh*, and his legs and arms over the gates of the Cities of *Sterling*, *Glaſcow*, *Perth*, alias Saint *Johns-Town*, and *Aberdeen*. And in caſe he repented, (whereby the Sentence of Excommunication may be taken off by the Church;) the bulk of his body ſhould be buried in the *Gray-Friers*; if not, to be buried in the *Borrow-moor*.

Upon the 18. day about four a clock in the afternoon, he was brought in at the Water-gate, and according to the Sentence, was met by the Magiſtrates, the guards, and the Hangman of the Citie, the reſt of the Priſoners being tyed

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two and two together, going bare-headed before him. So ſoon as he came within the gate, the Magiſtrates ſhewed him the Sentence, which when he had read, and perceived the Cart, and the Hangman there ready, he ſaid; *He would willingly obey, he was only ſorry that through him, his Majeſty whoſe perſon he preſented, ſhould be ſo diſhonoured.* Then going cheerfully into the Cart, he being uncovered, was by the Hangman tyed thereunto with ropes, and the Hangman on the horſe rid covered; thus was he carried to the Priſon, and in all the way, there appeared in him ſuch a *Majeſty*, *Courage*, and *Modeſty*, no way *daunted*, that his very Enemies, nay common women, who as it was believed by divers would have ſtoned him in the Cart as he paſſed, were upon the ſight of him ſo aſtoniſhed, and moved, that their intended curſes were turned into Tears and Prayers for him; Inſomuch as the next day (being Sunday,) the Miniſters preached againſt them for not reviling and ſtoning of him as he paſſed along.

When he was taken from the Cart, he gave the Hangman Gold, telling him, *That was a reward for driving the Cart.* It was ſeven a clock at night before he was entered into the Priſon, and immediately the Parliament met, and ſent ſome of their Members, and ſome Miniſters to examine him; but he refuſed to anſwer any thing to them, untill he was ſatisfied upon what terms they ſtood with the King, his Royal Maſter; Which being reported unto the Parliament, they ceaſed proceeding againſt him until *Monday*, and allowed their Commiſſioners to tell him, that the King and they were agreed: He deſired to be at reſt, for he was weary with a long journey, and he ſaid, *The Complement they had put upon him that day was ſomewhat tedious.*

The next day being *Sunday*, he was conſtantly attended by Miniſters and Parliament men, who ſtill purſued him with threatnings, but they got no advantage of him; he told them, *they thought they had affronted him the day before by carrying him in a Cart, but they were much miſtaken; For he thought it the moſt Honourable and joyfull'ſt journey that ever he made, God having all the while moſt comfortably manifeſted his preſence to him, and furniſhing him with reſolution to over-look the reproches of men, and to behold him for whoſe cauſe he ſuffered.*

Upon *Monday* in the forenoon, he was brought before the

the Parliament, and after the delivery of a long penned diſcourſe by the Chancellour, wherein he was pleaſed to take notice of *his miſcarriages againſt the firſt Covenant, the League and Covenant, his Invaſion, and joyning with the Iriſh Rebels, and blood-guiltineſs; and that now, how God had brought him to juſt puniſhment:* He deſired to know if he might be allowed to ſpeak for himſelf, which being granted, he ſaid, *Since you have declared unto me, that you have agreed with the King, I look upon you, as if his Majeſty were ſitting amongſt you; and in that Relation I appear with this reverence, bare-headed: My care hath been always to walk as became a good Chriſtian, and a loyal Subject; I engaged in the firſt Covenant, and was faithful to it, until I perceived ſome private perſons under colour of Religion intended to wring the Authority from the King, and to ſeize on it for themſelves; and when it was thought fit, for the clearing of honeſt men, that a bond ſhould be ſubſcribed, wherein the ſecurity of Religion was ſufficiently provided for, I ſubſcribed. For the League and Covenant, I thank God I was never in it, and ſo could not break it; but how far Religion hath been advanced by it, and the ſad conſequences that have followed on it, theſe poor diſtreſſed Kingdoms can witneſs: for when his late Majeſty had by the bleſſing of God almoſt ſubdued thoſe enemies that roſe againſt him in* England, *and that a faction of this Kingdom went in to the aſſiſtance of them; His Majeſty gave Commiſſion to me, to come into this Kingdom, and to make a diverſion of thoſe forces that were going from hence againſt Him. I acknowledged the command moſt juſt, and I conceiv'd my ſelf bound in conſcience and duty to obey it. What my carriage was in this Country, many of you may bear witneſs; Diſorders in any Army cannot be prevented, but they were no ſooner known, than puniſhed; never was any blood ſpilt but in battel, and even then many thouſand lives have I preſerved; and as I came in upon his Majeſties warrant, ſo upon his Letters did I lay aſide all intereſt, and retreated.*

And for my coming in at this time, it was by his Majeſties command, in order to the accelerating of the Treaty betwixt him and you; His Majeſty knowing, that when ever he had ended with you, I was ready to retire upon his call. I may juſtly ſay, that never ſubject acted upon more Honourable grounds, nor by a more lawful power, than I did in this ſervice; and therefore I deſire you to lay aſide prejudice, and conſider me as a Chriſtian

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in relation to the juſtice of the quarrel; as a Subject in relation to my Royal Maſters commands; and as your Neighbour in relation to the many of your lives I have preſerved in battel; and be not too raſh, but let me be judged by the Laws of God, the Laws of Nature, and Nations, and the Laws of this Land; if you do otherwiſe, I do here appeal from you, to the Righteous judge of the world, who one day muſt be both your judge and mine, and who always gives Righteous judgment.

This he delivered with ſuch Gravity, and without Paſſion as was much admired even of his enemies. After which, the Chancellour commanded the Sentence to be read, which he heard with a ſetled and an unmoved countenance, and deſiring to be further heard, was preſently ſtopt by the Chancellour, who commanded he ſhould be preſently removed back again to priſon; where being no ſooner come, but the Miniſters aſſault him afreſh, aggravating the terrour of the Sentence, thereby to affright him. He acknowledged himſelf much beholding to the Parliament for the Honour they put upon him, ſaying, *He took it for a greater honour to have his head ſtand upon the Priſon Gate for this quarrel, than to have his picture in the Kings Bed-chamber. And (leſt his Loyalty ſhould be forgotten) they had highly honoured him, in deſigning laſting monuments to four of the chiefeſt Cities, to bear up his memorial to all poſterity; Wiſhing he had had fleſh enough, to have ſent a piece to every City in Chriſtendom, to witneſs his loyalty to his King and Country.*

His Friends were not ſuffered to come near him, but a guard was always in the Chamber with him, inſomuch as he had neither time nor place for his private devotions, but in their hearing.

The next day being the 21. Cloathed in a Scarlet cloak richly laced with Gold lace, he was brought to the Scaffold: He came along the Streets with ſo great ſtate, and there appeared in his countenance ſo much Beauty, Majeſty and Gravity, as amazed the beholders; and many even of his Enemies did acknowledge him to be the gallanteſt ſubject in the World: but becauſe all his Friends and well-willers were debarr'd from coming near him, there was a boy deſigned for that purpoſe on the Scaffold, who took his laſt Speech, Which was to this effect.

I am ſorry if this manner of my End be ſcandalous to any good Chriſtian. Doth it not often happen to the righteous according

cording to the ways of the wicked, and to the wicked, according to the ways of the righteous? doth not ſometime a juſt man periſh in his righteouſneſs, and a wicked man proſper in his malice? They who know me, ſhould not diſeſteem me for this; many greater than I have been dealt with in this kind; yet I muſt not ſay, but that all Gods Judgments are juſt; For my private ſins, I acknowledge this to be juſt with God, I ſubmit my ſelf to him: but in regard of man, I may ſay, they are but inſtruments, God forgive them, I forgive them, they have oppreſſed the poor, and violently perverted Judgment and Juſtice, but he that is higher than they, will reward them.

What I did in this Kingdom, was in obedience to the moſt juſt Commands of my Soveraign, for his defence in the day of his diſtreſs, againſt thoſe that roſe up againſt him. I acknowledge nothing, but fear God and Honour the King, according to the commandments of God, and the Law of Nature, and Nations, and I have not ſinned againſt man, but againſt God, and with him there is Mercy, which is the ground of my drawing near unto him.

It is objected againſt me by many, (even good People,) That I am under the Cenſure of the Church; This is not my fault, ſince it is only for doing my Duty, by obeying my Prince's moſt juſt Commands, for Religion, His Sacred Perſon, and Authority. Yet I am ſorry they did Excommunicate me, and in that which is according to Gods Laws, without wronging my Conſcience or Allegiance. I deſire to be relaxed; if they will not do it, I appeal to God who is the righteous Judge of the world, and who muſt, and will, I hope, be my Judge and Saviour.

It is ſpoken of me, that I ſhould blame the King (God forbid,) For the late King, he lived a Saint, and dyed a Martyr; I pray God, I may ſo end as He did; If ever I ſhould wiſh my Soul in another mans ſtead, it ſhould be in his. For his Majeſty now living, never people I believe might be more happy in a King: His Commands to me were moſt juſt; in nothing that he promiſeth will he fail. He deals juſtly with all men, I pray God he be ſo dealt withal, that he be not betrayed under truſt, as His Father was.

I deſire not to be miſtaken, as if my carriage at this time in relation to your ways were ſtubborn; I do but follow the light of my own Conſcience, which is ſeconded by the working of the good Spirit of God that is within me, I thank him, I go to Heavens Throne with joy. If He enable me againſt the

fear

fear of Death, and furniſh me with courage and confidence to imbrace it even in its moſt ugly ſhape. Let God be glorified in my end, though it were in my damnation. Yet I ſay not this out of any fear or diſtruſt, but out of my duty to God, and Love to his people.

I have no more to ſay, but that I deſire your Charity and Prayers. I ſhall pray for you all. I leave my Soul to God, my Service to my Prince, my good will to my Friends, and my Name and Charity to you all. And thus briefly I have exonerated my Conſcience.

Being deſired to pray apart, He ſaid, *I have already poured out my Soul before the Lord who knows my heart, and into whoſe hands I have commended my Spirit, and he hath been graciouſly pleaſed to return to me a full aſſurance of peace in Jeſus Chriſt my Redeemer, and therefore if you will not joyn with me in prayer, my reiterating again will be both Scandalous to you, and me.* So cloſing his eyes, and holding up his hands, he ſtood a good ſpace at his inward devotions, being perceived to be inwardly moved all the while; When he had done, he call'd for the Executioner, and gave him money. Then having brought unto him (hanging in a cord) his Declaration, and Hiſtory, he hanged them about his neck, ſaying, *Though it hath pleaſed His Sacred Majeſty that now is, to make him one of the Knights of the moſt Honourable Order of the Garter, yet he did not think himſelf more Honoured by the Garter, than by that cord with the Books, which he would embrace about his neck with as much joy and content, as ever he did the Garter, or a chain of gold,* and therefore deſired them to be tied unto him as they pleaſed.

When this was done, and his arms tyed, he asked the Officers, *If they had any more Diſhonour, as they conceived it, to put upon him, he was ready to accept it.* And ſo with an undaunted Courage and Gravity ſuffered, according to the Sentence paſt upon him.

The Speech of the truly Loyal Colloncl William Sybbald *on the Scaffold at the time of his Execution at* Edinburgh, Jan. 7. 1650.

GEntlemen, I am brought this day to this place, to pay a debt to Nature before it be due; and by the malice and cruelty of my mercileſs enemies, I am ſentenced to die as a Traytor to my Country, for endeavouring to do ſervice for my King, on whoſe happineſs and wel-fare does depend the welfare of theſe Kingdoms; and to whom I am bound both by the Law of God and man to perform all faithful and loyal ſervice: And as the cauſe for which I ſuffer proclaims my loyalty, ſo their Sentence does declare to all the world their diſloyalty, and their intentions againſt the King.

Their ſelf-guiltineſs makes cowardly ſpirits cruel; and ſuch was their proceedings againſt me, as that I could not obtain an Advocate to plead for me, nor any man skilful in the Laws, either to adviſe with me, or to write my Defence, though they knew me to be ignorant of the Laws. Thus is my innocency and integrity betrayed, partly by their malice, and my own ignorance.

The truth is, they did profer to do me any courteſie or favour, if I would make an ingenuous confeſſion; that is, accuſe ſome Noblemen and Gentlemen of keeping correſpondency with his Majeſty, or with the Marqueſs of *Montroſs*; which if I had done, I deſerved to have been branded with perpetual infamy, for I never knew any man in this Kingdom that did keep correſpondency with them: neither had I Commiſſion from his Majeſty, or the Marqueſs of *Montroſs* to treat with any. I did indeed ſpeak with ſome Noblemen and Gentlemen, becauſe I was formerly obliged unto them for their love to me, and did expect from them ſome ſmall aſſiſtance to furniſh me in my journey; but I never ſpake with them concerning the publick Affairs, no further than the weekly *Gazets* made known to all the world; if theſe great Fiſh could have been taken in our Stateſmens Nets, it might have been that ſuch a Minim as I, ſhould have eſcaped the Bailiff of the Fiſh-markets hand this day.

I

I have been from my youth a Souldier; and though that Calling in it ſelf be honourable, yet men in that Calling have greater occaſions and provocations to ſin than in any private Calling. Beſides naturally my youth led me to ſome abominable ſins, and cuſtom in them did for many years detain me captive unto them; ſo that I cannot but confeſs, that to me appertaineth ſhame and confuſion in this life, and damnation of Soul and Body eternally in Hell fire, if God ſhould deal with me according to my deſert; my comfort is, that the blood of my Saviour cries louder in his ears for mercy, than my ſins do for vengeance; and that he who hath promiſed a free pardon and remiſſion unto all penitent ſinners through faith in Jeſus Chriſt, will purge and cleanſe my Soul from all uncleanneſs, and deliver me from all blood-guiltineſs by the blood of his Son our Saviour. The true ſorrow that I find in my Soul for my former ſins, and that godly reſolution and ſtedfaſt purpoſe I have to lead a new life if it pleaſed God to continue it, together with the joy, the patience, and the courage I have to ſuffer, gives me ſome aſſurance of this bleſſed hope, that through faith in Chriſt Jeſus my Saviour, my penitent Soul though ſinful ſhall be ſaved.

And as for my Religion, I die, as I lived, a true Proteſtant; this Religion, I thank God, as it preſerved me from Popiſh Superſtition, ſo it kept me from being ſeduced by the Novelties of the times, and from being deluded with the wicked Doctrine which is now taught by the Reformers of the Kirk. It was this Religion which did keep my hand from your Covenant: of which in the ſpace of ſome five years you gave two interpretations, quite contradictory; for in the year 1639. the Aſſembly did affirm (as appears by our Acts of Parliament and Aſſembly) that in all cauſes whatſoever you were to defend and maintain the perſon and dignity of your King; but in the year 1644. you limit your obedience to your King, to your Religion, Laws, and Liberty; and make your ſelves in all differences between the King and you, both Judge and Party. The Religion in which I was bred, taught me to give both to God, and my King their due; it taught me to honour and worſhip God, and to expect Salvation through Chriſt; and to live ſoberly, and to deal juſtly

with all men. I ever hated that Religion which made Saints or Angels ſharers with God in his worſhip; or men partakers with my Redeemer in the work of my Redemption, or that made our Chriſtian liberty a cloak of maliciouſneſs; and though naturally I inclined to evil, and wicked company drew me to moſt hainous and filthy ſins; yet I thank God I hated that Religion that taught impiety and wickedneſs, Rebellion, Murther and Injuſtice, or that approved the killing of Kings and their loyal Subjects for their loyalty, as having its original rather from the Devil, who was a murtherer from the beginning, than from God; and I did ever eſteem it more agreeable to mans ſinful and corrupted nature, than to Gods holy Word. I have heard a learned man ſay, that it were better to deny God to be, than to believe him to be ſuch an one who delights in the bloody ſacrifices of men and women, or to think that he is ſuch an one who delights in cruelty and murther; the God whom we ſerve and worſhip, is the Saviour of the world, the preſerver of man, the Redeemer of mankind, the avenger of his blood. I have been taught from Gods word, that he hath no pleaſure in wickedneſs, neither ſhall any evil dwell with him; undoubtedly ſuch bloody Sacrifices cannot be pleaſing or acceptable to him, for they are repugnant to his nature, and contradictory to the Juſtice and equity of his holy Law.

It is my greateſt grief at this time, I did not walk according to the purity of my Religion, and the holineſs of God, who hath called us to the knowledge of his truth. Therefore let me entreat you to pray unto God with me, and for me, that he would be pleaſed to pardon my many and great ſins; that he would purge my Soul with the blood of his Son, from the guilt and pollution of all my ſins; that I may be preſented unto my heavenly Father without ſpot or wrinkle, holy, without blemiſh; that he would receive me through the merits of my Saviour into everlaſting peace, and into the glorious eſtate of his choſen Saints in Heaven. O Lord into thy hands I commend my Soul; Lord Jeſu receive my ſpirit; O merciful Father forgive my Enemies, and lay not this ſin to their charge. *Amen.*

The

The Speech of Col. Euſebius Andrews *immediately before his Execution on the Scaffold on* Tower-hill, *on Thurſday* Auguſt 22. 1650. *being attended on by Dr.* Swadling.

AS ſoon as he came upon the Scaffold, kiſſing the block, he ſaid, I hope there is no more but this Block between me and Heaven; and to the *Lieutenant* of the *Tower* he ſaid, I hope I ſhall neither tire in my way, nor go out of it. After he had been a good while upon the Scaffold, turning to the rail, he ſpeaks to the people as followeth; *Chriſtian Gentlemen and people*, Your buſineſs hither to day is to ſee a ſad ſpectacle, a man to be in a moment unman'd and cut off in the prime of his years, taken from further opportunities of doing good either to himſelf, his friends, the *Commonwealth*, or eſpecially to God; it ſeldom happens but upon very good cauſe. And though truly, if my general known courſe of life were but inquired into, I may modeſtly ſay there is ſuch a moral honeſty upon it, as ſome may be ſo ſawcy as to expoſtulate why this great judgment is fallen upon me; yet know, I am able to give them and my ſelf an anſwer, and out of this breaſt am able to give a better account of my Judgment and Execution than my *Judges* themſelves, or you are able to give; It is Gods wrath upon me for ſins long unrepented of, many Judgments withſtood, and mercies ſlighted; therefore God hath whipped me by his ſevere rod of correction, that he might not loſe me: I pray joyn with me in prayer, that it may not be a fruitleſs rod, that when by this rod I have laid down my life, by this ſtaff I may be comforted, and received into glory. I am very confident by what I have heard ſince my ſentence, there is more exception made againſt proceedings againſt me than I ever made. My tryers had a Law, and the value of that Law is indiſputable, and for me to make a queſtion of it, I ſhould ſhame my ſelf and my diſcretion. In the ſtrictneſs of that law ſomething is done by me that is applicable to ſome clauſe therein, by which I ſtand condemnable: the means whereby I was brought under that interpretation of that which was

not in my ſelf intended maliciouſly, being teſtimony given (by perſons whom I pity) ſo falſe, yet ſo poſitive, that I cannot condemn my *Judges* for paſſing ſentence againſt me according to legal Juſtice; for equity lieth in higher breaſts.

As for my Accuſers, or rather betrayers, I pity, and am ſorry for them, they have committed *Judas* his crime, but I wiſh and pray for them *Peters tears*, that by *Peters* repentance they may eſcape *Judas* his puniſhment; and I wiſh other people ſo happy, they may be taken up betimes before they have drunk up more blood of *Chriſtian* men poſſibly leſs deſerving than my ſelf.

It is true, there have been ſeveral Addreſſes made for mercy, and I will put the obſtruction of it upon nothing more than upon my own ſin, and ſeeing God ſees it fit, (having not glorified him in my life) I might do it in my death; which I am contented to do. I profeſs in the face of God, particular malice to any one of State or Parliament, to do them a bodily injury, I had none.

For the Cauſe in which I had long waded, I muſt needs ſay, my engagement or continuance in it hath laid no ſcruple upon my Conſcience; it was in principles of Law, the knowledge whereof I profeſs, and on principles of *Religion*, my *Judgment* ſatisfied, and *Conſcience* rectified, that I have purſued thoſe ways which I bleſs God I find no blackneſs upon my Conſcience, nor have I put it into the bead-roll of my ſins.

I will not preſume to decide controverſies; I deſire God to honour himſelf in proſpering that ſide that hath right with it, and that you may enjoy peace and plenty, when I ſhall enjoy peace and plenty, beyond all you poſſeſs here; In my converſation in the world, I do not know where I have an enemy with cauſe, or that there is ſuch a perſon whom I have to regret; but if there be any whom I cannot recollect, under the notion of *Chriſtian* men, I pardon them, as freely as if I had named them by name, I freely forgive them, being in free peace with all the world, as I deſire God for Chriſts ſake, to be at peace with me. For the buſineſs of death, it is a ſad ſentence in it ſelf, if men conſult with fleſh and blood: But truly without boaſting, I ſay it, or if I do boaſt, I boaſt in the Lord, I have not to this minute, had one conſultation with the fleſh about the blow

of

of the *Axe*, or one thought of the *Axe*, more than as my paſs-port to glory.

I take it for an honour, and I owe thankfulneſs to thoſe under whoſe power I am, that they have ſent me hither to a place, however of puniſhment, yet of ſome honour, to die a death, ſomewhat worthy of my blood, anſwerable to my birth and qualification, and this courteſie of theirs hath much helped towards the pacification of my mind.

I ſhall deſire God that thoſe *Gentlemen* in that ſad beadrol to be tried by the High Court of *Juſtice*, that they may find that really there that is nominal in the Act; an High Court of *Juſtice*, a Court of high *Juſtice*, high in its righteouſneſs, though not in its ſeverity, *Father forgive them, and forgive me as I forgive them.*

I deſire you now that you would pray for me, and not give over praying till the hour of death, not till the moment of death, for the hour is come already; that as *I* have a great load of ſins, ſo I may have the wings of your prayers, to help thoſe *Angels* that are to convey my ſoul to Heaven, and I doubt not, but I ſhall ſee my Saviour, my gallant Maſter the King of *England*, and another Maſter whom I much honoured, my Lord *Capel*, hoping this day to ſee my *Chriſt* in the preſence of the *Father*, the *King* in the preſence of him, my Lord *Capel* in the preſence of them all; and my ſelf there to rejoyce with all other *Saints* and *Angels* for evermore.

Dr. *Swadling* (he being upon the Scaffold) ſpake as followeth unto the *Colonel*.

You have this morning in the preſence of a few, given ſome accompt of your Religion, and under general notions or words, have given an account of your faith, charity, and repentance.

To thoſe on the Scaffold: if you pleaſe to hear the ſame queſtions asked here, you ſhall, that it may be a general teſtimony to you all, that he died in the favour of God.

To the Colonel. Now Sir, I being to deal with you: do you acknowledge that this ſtroke that you are to ſuffer, is a juſt puniſhment laid upon you by God for your former ſins?

Col. Andrews. I dare not only not deny it, but dare not but confeſs it, I have no opportunity of glorifying God more, than by taking ſhame to my ſelf, and I have a reaſon

of the juſtice of God in my own boſom, which I have put to your boſom.

Doctor. You acknowledge that you deſerve more than this ſtroak of the *Axe*, and that a far greater miſery is due to you, even the pains and torments of Hell that the damned there endure?

Col. I know it is due in righteous judgment, but I know again, I have a ſatisfaction made by my elder brother *Chriſt Jeſus*, and then I ſay it is not due, 'tis due from me, but quitted by his Righteouſneſs.

Doct. Do you believe to be ſaved by that Mediator and none other?

Col. By that and that only, renouncing all ſecondary cauſes whatſoever.

Doct. Are you truly and unfeignedly ſorry before God, as you appear to us, for all thoſe ſins that have brought you hither?

Col. I am ſorry, and can never be ſorrowful enough, and am ſorry I can be no more ſorry.

Doct. If God ſhould by a miracle (not to put you to a vain hope) but if God ſhould as he did to *Ezekiah*, renew your days, what life do you reſolve to lead hereafter?

Col. It is a queſtion of great length, and requires a great time to anſwer. Men in ſuch ſtraits would promiſe great things; but I would firſt call ſome friends to limit how far I ſhould make a Vow, that I might not make a raſh one, and to offer the ſacrifice of fools; but a Vow I would make, and by Gods help endeavour to keep it.

Doct. Do you wiſh health and happineſs upon all lawful Authorities and Government?

Col. I do prize all obedience to lawful government, and the adventuring againſt them is ſinful, and I do not juſtifie my ſelf, what ever my judgement be, for my thus venturing againſt the preſent Government, I leave it to God to judge whether it be righteous, if it be, it muſt ſtand.

Doct. Are you now in love and charity with all men? do you freely forgive them?

Col. With all the world freely, and the Lord forgive them, and forgive me, as I freely forgive them.

Doct. You have for ſome late years laid down your gown, and took up the Sword, and you were a man of note

note in thoſe parts where you had your reſidence. I have nothing to accuſe you for want of diligence in hindering the doing of injuries, yet poſſibly there might be ſome wrong done by your *Officers*, or thoſe under you to ſome particular men: If you had your Eſtate in your hands, would you make reſtitution?

Col. The wrongs themſelves you bring to my mind are not great, nor many; ſome things of no great moment, but ſuch as they are, my deſire is to make reſtitution, but have not wherewithal.

Doct. If you had ability, would you likewiſe leave a legacy of thankfulneſs to *Almighty God*, ſomething to his poor Servants; to his lame Members, to his deaf Members, to his dumb Members?

Col. My will hath always been better than my ability that way.

Doct. Sir, I ſhall trouble you very little further, I thank you for all thoſe heavenly Colloquies I have enjoyed by being in your company theſe three days, and truly I am very ſorry I muſt part with ſo heavenly an aſſociate. We have known one another heretofore, but never ſo Chriſtian-like before, I have rather been a Scholar to learn from you, than an inſtructer: I wiſh this Stage wherein you are made a ſpectacle to God, Angels, and the World, may be a School to all about you; for though I will not diminiſh your ſins, nor ſhall I conceal, nor hypocrize my own, for they are great ones betwixt God and my ſelf, yet I think there are few here have a lighter load upon them than you have, if we conſider things well, and I only wiſh them your repentance, and that meaſure of Faith God hath given you, and that meaſure of courage you have attained from God, and that conſtant perſeverance God hath crowned you with hitherto.

Col. His name be praiſed.

Here the Doctor prayed with him almoſt a quarter of an hour, after which, the Col. *turning himſelf again to the people, ſpake as followeth.*

One thing more I deſire to be clear in. There lieth a common imputation upon the Cavaliers, that they are Papiſts, and under that name we are made odious to thoſe of the contrary opinion: I am not a Papiſt, but renounce the *Pope* with all his dependencies; when the diſtractions in RE-

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LIGION firſt ſprang up, I might have been thought apt to turn from this Church to the *Roman*, but was utterly unſatisfied in their Doctrine in point of Faith, and very much as to their Diſcipline. The Religion which I profeſs, is that which paſſeth under the name of *Proteſtant*, though that be rather a name of diſtinction, than properly eſſential to Religion. But the Religion which was found out in the Reformation, purged from all the errours of *Rome* in the Reign of *Edward* the 6th. practiſed in the Reigns of Queen *Elizabeth*, King *James* and King *Charles*, that bleſſed Prince deceaſed, that Religion before it was defaced, I am of, which I take to be Chriſts Catholick, though not the Roman Catholick Religion: in the profeſſion and practice whereof I will live and die; That for my Religion. Then he turned himſelf unto the Executioner, I have no reaſon to quarrel with thee, thou art not the hand that throws the ſtone; I am not of ſuch an Eſtate to be liberal, but there is three pound for thee, which is all I have. Now tell me what I lack.

Execut. *Your hair to be turned up.* Col. *Shew me how to fit my ſelf upon the block. After which his doublet being off, and hair turned up, he turned again to the people, and prayed a good while: Before he laid down upon the Block, he ſpake again to the people,* viz.

There is not one face that looks upon me, though many faces, and perhaps different from me in opinion and practice, but (methinks) hath ſomething of pity in it; and may that mercy which is in your hearts fall into your own boſomes when you have need of it; and may you never find ſuch blocks of ſin to ſtand in the way of your mercy, as I have met with. I beſeech you joyn with me in prayer. Then he prayed (leaning on the Scaffold) with an audible voice for about a quarter of an hour; having done, he had ſome private conference with Dr. *Swadling*; then taking his leave of his Friends, Sheriffs, and acquaintance, ſaluting them all with a courteous valediction, he prepared himſelf for the block, kneeling down, ſaid, let me try the block, which he did; after caſting his eyes up, and fixing them very intentively upon Heaven, he ſaid, when I ſay *Lord Jeſus receive me*, Executioner do thine office; then kiſſing the Axe he laid down, and with as much undaunted, yet Chriſtian courage as poſſibly could be in-

in man, did he expoſe his throat to the fatal Axe, his life to the Executioner, and commended his Soul into the hands of a faithful and merciful Creator, through the meritorious paſſion of a gracious Redeemer: ſaying the forementioned words, his head was ſmitten off at one blow.

Sir Henry Hide's *Speech on the Scaffold near the Exchange, immediately before his Execution,* March 4. 1650.

Reader, *Take notice, that this Speech following is publiſhed in thoſe very words that the Gentleman delivered them; and though there be ſome abrupt breakings off, and other expreſſions not ſo ſmooth as might have been, yet I could not with honeſty alter a word; and therefore have I tied my ſelf to his own expreſſions, that I may neither abuſe the world, or the dying man, or my ſelf.*

The Gentleman came in a Coach to the Scaffold, attended by the Lieut. of the Tower, and the Sheriffs of London, *and alſo in his company one of his Servants, and Dr.* Hide.

Sir *Hen. Hide.* I Am come to put in practice the Chriſtian Profeſſion; and as I owe a death to nature and ſin, now I pay it upon the ſcore of grace.

Dr. Hide. *Bleſſed be God that hath enabled you to it: God hath and will enable you.*

Sir *H. Hide.* Looking round on the People, he ſaid, A populous City, God bleſs it, and grant they may live to his Grace. Then turning to his Man, he ſaid, *John*, I pray now though I have not been a good Maſter to you, be you a good Servant, and accompany me with your prayers, and help me both in body and mind *John*; Have you my things about you *John*?

Then

Then ſtaying for his Servants, they being not on the Scaffold, he ſaid, I had rather have my Servants than Strangers.

Then the Lieut. of the Tower coming to him, he ſaid, Pray Sir rejoyce with me: I thank Almighty God I am brought hither to ſuffer for him.

Lieut. of the Tower. I am glad you are ſo comforted: Gods will be fulfilled in all things.

Sir *H. Hide.* If God call me to him, and I glorifie him, it is well: I ſeek only the company of your Chriſtian Prayers.

Lieut. of the Tower. I ſhall not be wanting in that, God willing.

Then the Chirurgeon coming (but not his Kinſman who was called for) he ſaid, My kinſman is of no uſe, you may be uſeful about my body, I hope Maſter Sheriff that you'l give order I may have a little more room here.

Sheriff. Yes, yes, Sir.

Sir *H. Hide.* And likewiſe for liberty of ſpeech, and that it ſhall pleaſe you (for I am not acquainted with the forms here of *England*) that I may ſpeak my own ſenſe (I am now going into the preſence of Almighty God) a very little, without any diſturbance.

Sheriff. Why Sir, you ſhall.

Sir *H. Hide. John*, where is my Coffin?

John. It is here Sir.

Sheriff. Sir, it ſeems theſe men cannot be found.

Sir *H. Hide.* But if Mr. *Barret* could be found. After ſome ſtay, Mr. *Barret* being not found, the Sheriff ſpake to him, ſaying,

Sheriff. You have your liberty, you know your time.

Sir *H. Hide.* Where is the place of ſtanding, that way or this way? (pointing towards the Exchange and the Poultry.)

Sheriff. Which way you pleaſe: you may ſtand which way you will, but that way you muſt lie (pointing towards the Exchange.)

Sir *H. Hide.* I am indifferent: it is not the way to Heaven where a man ſtands.

One brought word to him that there was no help to be had.

Sir *H. Hide.* That is no hinderance to my felicity.

Dr. *Hide,*

Dr. *Hide.* God enable you that you may find that joy and comfort which is due to the glory of his holy Name; he will not forſake you that have put your truſt in him.

Sir *H. Hide.* I will open my heart and my mouth with thankſgiving (if this Gentleman pleaſe to give way.)

Then turning towards the Poultry, he put off his Hat, and ſaid, *Glory be to God on high, on Earth Peace, good will to men.*

CHriſtian People, I come hither to die; I am brought hither to die; and that I may die Chriſtian-like, I humbly beſeech the aſſiſtance of your Chriſtian Prayers, that by the benefit of them my paſſage may be the more eaſie: Yet becauſe men in that condition, which it hath pleaſed God to reduce me to, carry more credit to their Speeches; In the diſcharge of my Duty towards God, I ſhall uſe a few words, and ſo diſpatch.

I pray all of you joyn with me to praiſe this Almighty God, to whom I deſire to render all hearty thanks; as for all his mercies, ſo in particular for this, That he hath brought me hither: That whereas I owe a duty to Sin and to Nature, I can pay it upon the account of Grace. And becauſe it is fit to render an account of that Hope that is in me, I ſhall tell you, to the praiſe of Almighty God, That I have been born and bred up in the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, I have no negative Religion, believing to be ſaved by the only merits of my Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, (*putting off his Hat*) and whatſoever elſe is profeſt in the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church of *England* authorized by Law; humbly beſeeching Almighty God to reſtore unto this Church her Peace, Proſperity and Patrimony, whereof I have been an obedient and a loving (however an unworthy) Son. And now both my Hope being confident, and my Faith perfected, there remains only Chriſtian Charity; Charity we carry into Heaven, Charity on Earth, and that I leave, beſeeching all whomſoever I have offended (whether I have or no) to forgive me, as I from the bottom of my heart do them whomſoever; bleſſing Almighty God for the happy advantage he takes to bring me nearer to heaven; bleſſing Almighty God, that he hath given me this advantage, as he hath been merciful to me before the foundation of the World, in my Saviour;

ſo

ſo that now he hath in mercy honoured me, with a ſuffering for his Name, in obedience to his Commandment.

On this day ſeven night *I* was ſummon'd before that Juſtice, which condemned me on *Friday* laſt; praiſed be Almighty God, that by this way he hath brought me the nearer to himſelf *(putting off his hat)* My Charge I preſume is publick, as my puniſhment is viſible: if there have been any thing in the management of my part, being unskilful, having diſcontinued my own Country many years, I ſhall beſeech the Chriſtian charity of all you my beloved Countrymen, to impute it unto the right part, the ignorance that is in this skilful way of managing. It was objected unto me there, that I had a vanity of delighting in ſtrange Tongue. I was beſt skill'd in the *Italian* (but free from that vanity, I thank Almighty God) and therefore I would in defence of my life (if it had been the Cuſtome here, or the Judges favour) have uſed that Language.

It was objected, That *I* did not ſo freely as a thorow-paced Cavalier, own my Maſter: I was told ſince I came into *England* (for other skill I have not in your Laws) that a legall Denial in Law might be tolerable; I hope I did not exceed the bounds of that in any thing, for God forbid that I ſhould be aſhamed of ſerving ſo good, ſo pious, ſo juſt a Maſter (*putting off his hat*) for that I therein rejoyce; and I humbly beſeech Almighty God to fill my heart and my tongue, and all that hear me this day with thankfulneſs for it.

As to the buſineſs, that another conſtruction had been made and believed here, than what was there, the righteous God knoweth it; if any weakneſs was in the management, that was mine; I was ſent to ſerve and protect, not to injure any: and as God acquits me of the intention in matter of Fact, as having done any manner of evil that way, however here underſtood, bleſſed be his holy Name, *(putting off his hat)* ſo thoſe Gentlemen of the Turkey Company, if they would ſeriouſly conſider, for they know it very well, the impoſſibility of my doing them any manner of harm. Whereas that of the Embaſſie objected againſt me, that my Maſter never honoured me withal, I was never worthy of it, I was his Meſſenger, an *Internuncio* for the conſervation only of his good Subjects, of all the Merchants, until ſuch time as he could confirm that Gentleman now Reſident, of

to

to ſend any other; and they themſelves know that there was impoſſibility in me (as I bleſs God there was an innocency in me) unto any ſuch intention to do them any harm; for my Maſters Commands were point-blank the contrary; I was only ſent for their good: as I never owned the Title, ſo the very Letters themſelves ſpeaking no other: I never did ſo much as think of any manner of Addreſs unto the *Grand Signiour*, but gave him the Letter from my Maſter; the reſt of the Engliſh Nation that were there preſent, may, when they pleaſe, aſſert ſo much. This I would inſert, that thoſe Gentlemen, as they have been loſers by the miſcarriages of others, may now have no breach of their charity with me; but if it be, as it ſeems it is now in this Countrey a Sin to be Loyal, I hope my God hath forgiven that, when it is upon harmleſs employment, not invading any, according to his juſt Maſters Order; for indeed I have been always bred up in that Religion, my Allegiance hath been incorporated into my Religion, and I have thought it a great part of the ſervice due from me to Almighty God, to ſerve the King (*putting off his hat.*) I need not make any Apology for any thing in relation to the preſent things in *England*, for were I (as I ſpake before my Judges) were I as evill as my Sentence hath here made me black, it were impoſſible for me to have prejudiced any body in *England*, or to *England* belonging in that imployment; but I bleſs God for his infinite mercy in Jeſus Chriſt (*putting off his hat*) who hath brought me home to him here in this way, it was the beſt Phyſick for the curing of my Soul, and thoſe that have done it, have no more power in than that of my body. I leave nothing behind but that I am willing to part withal, all that I am going to is deſireable: And that you may all know that Almighty God hath totally wrought in me a total Denial of my ſelf, and that there is that perfect Reformation of me within, and of my own corruptions, by the bleſſed aſſiſtance of his holy Spirit, I deſire Almighty God in the abundance of the bowels of his mercy in Jeſus Chriſt, not only to forgive every Enemy, (if any ſuch be in the World, here or whereſoever) but to bring him into his boſome ſo much good and particular comfort, as he may at any time, whether the Cauſe were juſt or unjuſt, have wiſhed me any manner of evil, for I take him to be the happy inſtrument

of

of bringing me to heaven. It is tedious, but I have an inward comfort, I bleſs Almighty God: (pray Gentlemen give me leave, *ſpeaking to ſome that preſt upon him*) *I* ſhould never do it but to give ſatisfaction to all charitable hearts. I have been troubleſome.

Sheriff. *You have your liberty to ſpeak more, if you pleaſe.*

Sir *Henry Hide.* But as to that part, Maſter Sheriff, that did concern the Denial (as it was affirmed by Maſter Attorney General) of my Maſters imployment. Truly landing at *Whitehall*, I told that Council, there was juſt Commiſſions to an old Officer by the bleſſing of God, I have by me; and *I* have other good things that God hath bleſſed me withal, more than all the good Chriſtians in the world, that are not the *Grand Signiour*'s Slaves; And we that are Merchants abroad, we allow our ſelves any ſufferance that may conduce to our own ſafety, inlargement of Trade, or preſervation of what is ours. Why I had by the grace of my gracious Maſter a confirmation of my old Commiſſion of *Conſulage* in *Greece*; but as to the Embaſſy no more than my Credential Letters did ſpeak, nor no more than that I attempted, an *Internuncio* they call it in thoſe places, which is a Meſſenger between the one and the other KING: They both unhappily died of ſeveral deaths, and both violent too. And it is a cuſtome not unknown to you, Maſter Sheriff, and other Gentlemen that practiſe in the World, that Princes of courſe, for the continuation of Amity, do ſend Meſſengers where there is Peace, that the tranſaction of thoſe publique expreſſions of reciprocal Affection may be performed; but for Embaſſie, God forbid I ſhould own it, I never had it, however they have uſed it as the happy means to bring me to God this day. I beſeech God in the bowels of my Saviour, to forgive thoſe people that have done it, I owe them no harm, ſo God pay them home with all the goods of this, and an everlaſting life.

As for power, I have been long abſent here in *England*, I meddle with none: Sufficient to me is Gods grace to the ſalvation of my ſoul.

I have been always fearful of offending Almighty God, according to the grace he hath given me: but to learn new Religion, and new Ways, that I muſt ſay Maſter Sheriff to you, and all others that hear me, I cannot diſpenſe with my Conſcience to give offence to Almighty God. I am now

now (if it may be with your permiſſion, Maſter Sheriff) to pour out my ſoul to Almighty God in two or three words (the place is ſtraitned.) If I knew wherein to give any ſatisfaction to any thing whatſoever, wherein I have offended or no, I am here in the fear of God to do it. I forgive them with all my ſoul, and my forgiveneſs is clear, as I am now going to receive happineſs at the hand of my Saviour: But if I thought it were ſatisfaction to Sir *Thomas Bindiſh*, and all the Company, or any who think they have offended me, I am come Mr. Sheriff to pay that Obedience willingly; that Debt I owe to Nature; to pay it upon the ſcore of a Subject, becauſe Conſcience within me, tells me not, that for the intentions of ſerving my Prince, I could deſerve ſuch a Death, though ten thouſand times more other ways.

Dr. *Hide. There was ſome ſuſpicion that you might impart the way you were upon to ſome of thoſe ſervants that were with you.*

Sir *Henry Hide.* I humbly thank you for remembring me of it; and if any be here of the *Turkie* Company this day, or any Friend of theirs, I ſhall deſire them from a dying Man, to take this truth, That neither my Brother, my innocent Brother that this is with me, nor other Gentlemen with me in my company, have contributed any thing to their diſturbance; it was my own buſineſs, whatſoever hath been done, that hath been to evill, or loſs, though I deny both of them in my intentions: I come not here to accuſe any man, nor excuſe my ſelf, but I praiſe God for all his deliverances; yet I know I ſhall do God a great deal of Service, and them a great deal of juſtice, in not involving any of my Company in any thing of miſchief. I cannot anſwer Objections; I finde a man may be in *Turkie*, or in any place, all the World over, where they will give that Language which they hold fitting; but this is beneath me. Bleſſed be Almighty God, that hath called me to the knowledge of him, and this ready Obedience which I pray, and mercifully accepting of my Saviour, and patient death: And I beſeech you all, whatſoever you are, that you will accompany me with your Prayers, whereby my Soul may be aſſiſted within me, in that paſſage to my Saviour whither I am going. I am weak of body, I have diſcontinued long from the Kingdom, I am unacquainted with new Forms, I have deſired to ſerve God according to his Commandments after the Old way: I have begged mercy of God for all my

offences to him, and have had my pardon ſealed from Heaven by the Blood of my Saviour: I beg pardon of all whomſoever, whether I have offended them, or no: I truly forgive them, and have beſought Almighty God to pour his bleſſings upon them. I accuſe no man, I finde fault nor quarrel with no man, neither with the perſons that were the occaſions, they were but inſtruments; neither at the perſons condemning, I accept thankfully the Sentence of Death upon my ſelf, and I beſeech Almighty God, that I may be the laſt that may ſuffer upon this ſcore, or upon any other.

Maſter Sheriff, if there be any thing wherein I can give any other ſatisfaction to any Chriſtian whatſoever, in any kinde, as I ſpake in general, I bleſs God Almighty from my own Heart, now ſo aſſiſted by the eſpecial Operation, and Motions, and Dictates of the Holy Ghoſt: if I can know any thing, wherein, or how to be now in my dying (not having ſerved God ſo well in my life) ſerviceable to the Church of God, of Chriſt, and the full ſatisfaction of any whatſoever, I am here ready: I am unacquainted, but in my eccſtaſies to heaven there is that glory I am going to. I beſeech Almighty God, that he will give me grace to bleſs his holy Name; as for all, as for Jeſus Chriſt, and in him all things, ſo particularly for this, that he hath thought me worthy to bring me hither for my faithfulneſs to my Maſter, that is the moſt pious and moſt juſt Prince in all the world. My Maſter hath ſufferd bitterly in *England*; and if there be any failing in his ſervice, the fault is only mine. God knows, I have done nothing in the buſineſs, but by the inſtance of the Merchants; I delivered my Letters, and there they lye: To other things I am a Stranger. I hope that God will give me the grace of perſeverance in that Chriſtian Religion, in that loyalty to my Prince, in that love to all the World, that now (being to give up my accompt to him, that) I may with comfort be received into the arms of his mercy.

If there be any thing, Maſter Sheriff, that I may give ſatisfaction in, I am ready to do it according to the poor talent I have. I will receive my puniſhment in the way God hath prepared for me; and many ways I have been taken up. Truly I am bound to all that ſee me, and many thouſands more ſince I came into *England*, not an uncivil look (we had ſtrange reports abroad) not an uncivil look from any: God repay them all, and return them from the Throne

Throne of his Grace into their own Boſoms. And God in particular bleſs that honourable Lady, who was the occaſion of the coming of my Lords Grace of *Armagh*, with the Confirmation of thoſe glorious and eternal Meſſages of Comfort which now I am going to enjoy: being thankful to all thoſe that know me, and know me not, for ſince I am come hither, whereas I might have received prejudice in reſpect to my Loyalty (which is not the way now) I have from them all received courteſie, the Lord repay them. I thank God I am otherwiſe bred, and my Allegiance hath been incorporated, imbodied into my Religion; and beſides the great deſires of other Gentlemen, that I might go out of the World; but that the World might ſee that the Grace of God hath had a perfect Reformation in me, and a willing and thankful Submiſſion to his Will, therefore I repent me not of it; but I beſeech Almighty God to bleſs and proſper all people whatſoever that to this Kingdom belong. As my Speech is imperfect, ſo is my health. I have forced my ſelf in this Diſcourſe to give that ſatisfaction which I could. And I beſeech you Mr. Sheriff, if you can hear of any Gentlemen that are wronged, what I offer here, I am to anſwer it; and I beſeech you joyn with me in your Chriſtian Prayers, that I may have a paſſage whither I am now going to give an account, not only of every deed, but of every word.

Then turning to his Man, he ſaid,

Sir *H. Hide. John*, which is the Executioner?

The Executioner being brought to him, he ſaid,

Sir *H. Hide.* Honeſt Friend, I have no quarrel with you, you are the welcome inſtrument, do your work, only let me ſee the place, that I may fit my ſelf, for *I* have an infirm body.

Sheriff. You ſhall when you have prayed; if you pleaſe to pray firſt.

Sir *H. Hide. I* deſire to ſee the Block, *I* can pray afterwards. Here Mr. Executioner is that Mony that is left; here is four pound for you.

Then being ſhewed the block, he kiſſed it, ſaying,

Sir *H. Hide.* It is unworthy for me to put my head where my Maſters was, Bleſſed be God, Bleſſed be his holy Name (*putting off his hat*) I have an infirmity in my body, but God hath enabled me inwardly. Pray Mr. Sheriff let me have a little more room.

Sheriff. Go to prayer, and we will clear the room.

Sir *H. Hide.* I have (I thank Almighty God) done those Christian Offices belonging to me at home, I come hither only to die.

Then kneeling down, he said the Lords Prayer.

Then having prayed a short space, he stood up, and turning to the Executioner, said,

Sir *H. Hide.* Honest Friend, I pray give me direction what I am to do, and do your Office: you will cure all diseases presently; pray direct me.

Then the Executioner going to spread the Scarf over the Block, he said,

Sir *H. Hide.* Put it not on now, but by and by.

Dr. *Hide.* God Almighty strengthen you.

Sir *H. Hide.* God reward you all.

Then the Executioner going to put up his hair under his Sattin Cap, he thought he had been taking of it off; whereupon he said,

Sir *H. Hide.* Must I have my black Cap off? it is very cold; all these Diseases will be cured, the Lord be thanked.

Then going to lie down, his man not helping him, he said,

Sir *H. Hide.* *John*, Help me a little, I pray; Did not I tell you I could neither rise nor fall? lay me down, and lift me up again, *John.*

Then rising again upon his knees, he spake to the Executioner, having the Ax in his hand.

Sir *H. Hide.* Pray Sir give me the Ax.

And then taking the Ax in his hand, he kissed it, and returned it to the Executioner again, saying,

Sir *H. Hide.* I will only say, *Lord Jesus receive my Soul*, and when I lift up my right hand, do your work.

And then lying down again, after a little space he lift up his right hand, and the Executioner at one stroke severed his head from his body.

The

The Manner of the Death and Sufferings of the Right Honourable James *Earl of* Derby *upon the Scaffold at* Bolton *in* Lancaſhire, *together with a true Copy of his Speech, Deportment and Prayer before his death, on* Wedneſday *the* 15 *day of* October, 1651.

THe Earl of *Derby* (according to the order of the Court Marſhal held at *Cheſter*, by which he was ſentenced, to die at *Bolton* in *Lancaſhire*) was brought to that Town with a guard of Horſe and Foot of Col. *Jones*'s, commanded by one *Southley*, who received his order from Col. *Robert Duckenfield*, betwixt 12 and 1 of the clock on *Wedneſday* the 15. of *October*, the people weeping, praying, and bewailing him all the way from the Priſon at *Cheſter*, to the place of his death.

He was brought to a houſe in the Town near the Croſs, where the Scaffold was raiſed; and as he paſſed by ſaid, [*VENIO DOMINE,*] *I am prepared to fulfil thy will, O my God: this Scaffold muſt be my Croſs; bleſſed Saviour, I take it up willingly, and follow thee.*] From thence going into a Chamber with ſome friends and ſervants, he was advertiſed by the Commander in Chief, that he had till three of the Clock allowed him to prepare for death; for indeed the Scaffold was not ready, the people of the Town and Country generally refuſing to carry ſo much as a plank, or ſtrike a nail, or to lend any aſſiſtance to that work, their cry being generally in the ſtreets, *O ſad day, O woful day! ſhall the good Earl of* Derby *die here?* many ſad loſſes have we had in this War, but none like unto this; for now the Ancient Honour of our Country muſt ſuffer here: And to add to his trouble, moſt of the Timber that built the Scaffold, was of the ruines of *Latham*-Houſe; but nothing could alter his Lordſhips reſolution and courage: for with a ſtedfaſt compoſed countenance, and a cheerful, he called the company which were preſent to prayers with him, wherein he ſhewed admirable fervency, and a kind of humble importunity with Almighty God, that he would pardon his ſins, be merciful to his Soul; and be gracious

to this Land, in reſtoring the *King*, *Laws* and *Liberty*; and that he would be a *Husband* to his *Wife*, a *Father* to his *Children*, and a *Friend* to all thoſe that ſuffered by his *Loſs*, or that had been Friends to him.

Riſing from prayer, he ſate down with a very pleaſing countenance, and aſſured the ſtanders by, that God had heard his prayers, which the bleſſed Spirit of God witneſſed unto him, in the preſent Comforts he now felt in his Soul. Then he entred into a diſcourſe of his life, and beſeecht God to forgive him the days and time he had miſpent, and ſaid it was his Comfort, that although he had not walked ſo circumſpectly as he ought to have done, yet he ever had a ſenſe of his ſins, and a tender reſpect to all the Services, Servants and Ordinances of his God; and that he knew God had mercy for him, that he had ſtrengthened and comforted him againſt all the terrors of death.

After theſe and ſome other words to this purpoſe, he deſired his friends and the people by, to pray with him again; which when he had ended, riſing from his knees, he appeared fully ſatisfied of a gracious return to his prayers, and never after ſhewed any ſadneſs in his countenance.

His next buſineſs was with his *Son* the Lord *Strange*, whom he publickly charged to be *dutiful* to his *ſad Mother*, *affectionate* to his diſtreſſed *Brothers* and *Siſters*, and *ſtudious* of the Peace of his *Country*: *But eſpecially* (ſaid he) *Son, I charge you upon my Bleſſing, and upon the Bleſſings you expect from God, to be ever dutiful to your diſtreſſed Mother, ever obedient to her commands, and ever tender how you in any thing grieve or offend her: She is a perſon well known to the moſt eminent Perſonages of* England, France, Germany *and* Holland, *noted for Piety, Prudence, and all Honourable Vertues, and certainly the more you are obedient to her, the more you will increaſe in favour with God and Man.*

Then he deſired to be private in the room himſelf; where he was obſerved to be about half an hour upon his knees with frequent interjections of groans and ſighs before his God: Then when he called the company in again, his eyes witneſſed to us, that he had abundantly mixed *Tears* with his *Prayers*; he told us that he was very willing to leave the World, being aſſured by the Teſtimony of Gods Spirit, that he ſhould be carried from Trouble to Reſt and Peace, from Sorrow to Joy, from Life to Death, and

and that Death had no other bitterneſs in it to him, but that it took him from his dear Wife and Children; whom he *humbly* commended to the Protection and Providence of a better *Husband*, and a better *Father*; and that yet he did not doubt, but that the General, and they who ſat in the ſeat of Authority, would make proviſion for them, hoping that his death might ſatisfie all thoſe who ſought his life, whom he freely forgave, and deſired God to do the like. Then calling for his Son, he took his leave of him, and bleſſed him; which indeed would have grieved any ones heart (though never ſo hardened) to ſee the parting of him now with his Son, and with his two Daughters, the Lady *Katherine*, and the Lady *Amely Stanley*, upon the road betwixt *Cheſter* and *Bolton* the day before.

This ended, he called the Officer, and told him he was ready. In his way to the Scaffold, the people prayed, and wept, and cryed aloud; to whom his Lordſhip with a cheerful countenance, and courteous humbleneſs ſaid, *Good people, I thank you, and I beſeech you ſtill pray for me, and our bleſſed God return your prayers back into your own boſomes: The God of Mercies bleſs you, the Son of God eſtabliſh you in righteouſneſs, and the Holy Ghoſt fill you with all comforts.* —— Coming near the Scaffold, he looked up and ſaid, *God I thank thee, I am not afraid to go up here, though I am to die there; there are but theſe few ſteps to my eternity*; Then kiſſing the ladder, he went up and ſaluted the people, he walked a turn or two upon the Scaffold, then went to the Eaſt end of the Scaffold, and pulled off his Hat again and ſaluted the people with a cheerful countenance, ſaid —— I am come by the will of my heavenly Father to die in this place, and I thank God I do with all willingneſs and readineſs ſubmit to his moſt bleſſed will.

'Tis a place I deſired to ſee when I was laſt in the Country, both for the mutual obligations that have been betwixt this Town and my Family, as alſo for your particular reſpects to me, whom I have underſtood to be ready to clear me from that foul imputation, That I was a man of blood; and that particularly, I killed one *Bootle* here in cold blood: I doubt not but there are here many men preſent, both that day this Town was taken, and divers other times during this War, that can juſtifie I preſerv'd many lives; but I know there is not any *one preſent*

that can lay the *blood* of any *man* whatſoever to *my charge*, unleſs what might caſually happen in the fury and heat of a Battel; and why I die in this Town, I know not, unleſs it be to perſwade the Nation that I fall as a ſacrifice for that blood which ſome ſaid I ſhed here, from which I am acquitted before you, and from which I had alſo cleared my ſelf before my Grand Judges at *Weſtminſter*, had they pleaſed to hear me, before they had deſtroyed me; that report being haſtily brought up among them, by ſome that I hope God hath forgiven, and too readily drunk in by others, whom I pray God to forgive. As for my crime (as ſome are pleaſed to term it) which was objected againſt me by the Council of War (for *Bootle*'s death was never mentioned againſt me there, that being only ſecretly uſed to raiſe a prejudice againſt me in the judgments of ſuch as did not know me) my crime (I ſay) though I hope it deſerves a far better name, was, that I came into my own Country with my own lawful King; I came in obedience to his Majeſties call, whom both by the Laws of God, and the Laws of this Land, I conceived my ſelf obliged to obey, and according to the *Proteſtation* I took in Parliament in the time of that bleſſed Prince his Father; ſo if it be my crime, I here confeſs it again before God, Angels and Men, *that I love Monarchy as the beſt Government*, and I die with Love and Honour: and for the Love and Honour I bear to my *Maſter* that now is, *Charles* the ſecond of that name, *whom I my ſelf in this Country proclaimed King*, the Lord bleſs and preſerve him, and incline the hearts of thoſe that have power in this Nation, to accept him to his Fathers Throne with Honour and Peace; for certainly as I believe, this Nation will never be well contented, never throughly happy without a King, ſo I believe alſo, that King *Charles* the ſecond, our now lawful King, were he a ſtranger to this crown, were the moſt fit, and moſt accompliſht Prince that this day lives, to take the government of this people; his admirable Piety, Vertue, Juſtice, great Valour and Diſcretion, far above ſo few years, doth now make him in all places he comes highly beloved, and will hereafter make him honourable among all Nations, and I wiſh the people of this Nation ſo much happineſs (when my eyes are cloſed) that he may peaceably be receiv'd to the enjoyment of his juſt right, and then they ſhall never want their juſt

rights,

rights, which till then, they will always want.

As for my being in arms in the beginning of this war, I profeſs here in the preſence of my God, before whom within a few minutes I muſt make an account for this profeſſion, I only fought for peace, and ſettling the late King my Maſter in his juſt rights, and the maintenance of the laws of this Land, and that I had no other deſign, intent or purpoſe for my then taking up arms: and for this laſt ingagement, I profeſs here again in the preſence of the ſame God, that I did it for the reſtoring of my lawful Soveraign into that Throne, out of which his Father was moſt unchriſtianly and barbarouſly taken, by the moſt unjuſt ſentence of a pretended Court of Juſtice, and himſelf againſt Law and all Juſtice kept out and diſpoſſeſt of; and this was all my reaſon. For as for eſtate or quality, I wanted not a ſufficient competency, neither was I ever ambitious to enlarge either: for by the favour of my Kings Predeceſſors, my family was raiſed to a condition well known in this Country; and now it is as well known, that by his enemies I am adjudged to dye, and that by *new and monſtrous laws*, as making me an enemy to my Country, for fighting for my Country; as a Traytor to the Laws, for endeavouring to preſerve the Laws: But, *Oh! God give me grace to conſider him who ſuffered ſuch contradictions of ſinners, and O my God, aſſert the King to his Fathers Throne, aſſert the Laws to their former honour, and reſtore thy own Religion in its purity, that all theſe ſhadows and falſe pretences of Religion may vaniſh away, and our childrens poſterities may ſerve thee in ſpirit and in truth.*

Good friends, I die for the * *King*, the *Laws* of the land, and the Proteſtant Religion maintained in the Church of *England*, all which as I was ready to maintain with my life, ſo I cheerfully ſuffer for them in this welcome death.

* *At which words* King *and* Laws, *a Trooper ſaid aloud, we will neither have King, Lord, nor Laws; and upon a ſudden the ſouldiers being either ſurprized with fear at a ſtrange noiſe that was heard, or elſe falling into mutiny, preſently fell into a tumult, riding up and down the ſtreets, cutting and ſlaſhing the people, ſome being killed and many wounded; his Lordſhip looking upon this ſad ſpectacle, ſaid thus, Gentlemen it troubles me more than my own death, that others are hurt, and (I fear)*

fear) die for me; I beseech you stay your hands, I flie not, you pursue not me, and here are none to pursue you. But being interrupted in his speech, and not permitted to go on further, (for which the Officers were much troubled) he turn'd aside to his servant, and gave him the speech into his hand, saying, I will speak to my God, who I know will hear me, and when I am dead, let the world know what I would have said. Here his Lordship was interrupted: but it was as follows, in his own copy under his own hand.

I am sentenced to death by a Council of War, after quarter for life, and assurance of honourable and safe usage by Captain *Edge*. I had reason to have expected the *Council* would have justified my *Plea*, which hath been *Ancient*, *Honorable*, *Sacred* and *Unviolable*, until this time that I am made the first suffering Precedent; for I dare affirm it, that never Gentleman before in any *Christian* Nation was adjudged to death by a Council of War after quarter given; I am the first, and I pray God I may be the last Precedent in this case: I must die, and I thank God I am ready for it; Death would now be my choice, had I the whole World in competition with it. I leave nothing behind me which I much care for, but my King, my Wife, my Children, my Friends, whom (I trust) the never-failing mercies of my God will provide for: I beseech God shew mercy to those, who neither had mercy nor justice for me: My blessed Saviour taught me by his example and command, both to pray for my enemies, and to forgive my enemies: I forgive them freely, even those that contrived my ruine, and pursued me to death; I thank God, I never personally offended them to my knowledge in my life, and let me not offend against them at my death: I forgive them freely, and pray God for Christs sake to forgive them also.

Of my Faith and Religion, I shall not (I hope) need to say much, herein I hope my enemies (if now I have any) will speak for me. I profess my faith to be in God only, from whom I look for my salvation, through the precious merits and sufferings of my blessed Saviour Jesus Christ, which merits and sufferings are applyed to my Soul, by the blessed Spirit of comfort, the Spirit of God, by whom I am assured in my own Soul, that my God is reconciled unto me in Jesus Christ my blessed Redeemer.

I die a dutiful Son to the Church of *England*, as it was eſtabliſhed in that bleſſed Prince my late Maſters Reign, which all men of Learning and Temperance will acknowledge to be the moſt pure and agreeable to the word of God, and primitive Government, of any *Church* within 12. or 1300. years ſince *Chriſt*, and which (to my great comfort) I left eſtabliſhed in the *Iſle of Man*; God preſerve it there, and reſtore it to this Nation.

And O bleſſed God, I magnifie thy Name, that thou gaveſt me the happineſs and mercy to be born in a *Chriſtian* Nation, and in a Nation where thy truth was profeſſed in purity: With honour to thy name, and comfort to thy people, I aſcribe the comforts of thy Holy Spirit which I feel in my boſome, to the Miniſtry of thy Word and Sacraments conveyed unto me in thy *Church*, and made effectual by the operation of the ſame bleſſed Spirit. In this faith, good people, I have lived, and in this I die: pray for me, I beſeech you, and the God of mercies hear your prayers and my prayers, for mine and your ſalvation.

Here his Lordſhip began to ſpeak again.

Preſently after the tumult was over, his Lordſhip called for the Headſman, and asked to ſee the Ax, and taking it in his hand, ſaid, *Friend, I will not hurt it, and I am ſure it cannot hurt me*; and then kiſſing it ſaid, *Methinks this is as a Wedding Ring, which is as a ſign I am to leave all the World, and eternally to be married to my Saviour.* Then putting his hand in his pocket, ſaid to the Headſman, *Here Friend, take theſe two pieces, all that I have, thou muſt be my Prieſt, I pray thee do thy work well and effectually*; Then handling the rough furr'd coat the Headſman had on, *This* (ſaies he) *will be troubleſome to thee; I pray thee put it off, and do it as willingly as I put off this garment of my fleſh, that is now ſo heavy for my ſoul:* then ſome of the ſtanders by bid the Headſman kneel, and ask his Lordſhip pardon; but he did not, but was ſurly and crabbed: but his *Lordſhip* ſaid, *Friend, I give thee the pardon thou wilt not ask, and God forgive thee alſo:* Then turning up his eyes to heaven, ſaid aloud, *How long Lord? how long?* then gently paſſing over the *Scaffold*, and ſeeing one of his *Chaplains* on horſeback among the people, *Good Sir* (ſaid he) *pray for me, and the Lord return your prayers into your own boſome, and I pray remember me kindly to your Brother, and God remember him for his love to me and mine.* Then

Then turning towards his *Coffin*, *Thou art* (ſaid he) *my bridal Chamber, in thee I ſhall reſt without a guard and ſleep without Soldiers.*

Then looking towards the Block, he asked if all were ready, *That* (ſaid he) *methinks is very low, and yet there is but one ſtep betwixt that and heaven*; then turning his eyes to the people, he ſaluted them, and deſired again their prayers; then ſaid, *I ſee your tears, and hear your ſighs and groans, and prayers: the God of Heaven hear and grant your ſupplications for me, and mine for you, and the Mediation of Chriſt Jeſus for us all.*

Here his Lordſhip cauſed the Block to be turned, that he might look upon the Church, ſaying, *Whilſt I am here, I will look towards thy holy Sanctuary, and I know that within a few minutes, I ſhall behold thee my God and King in thy Sanctuary above, under the ſhadow of thy wings ſhall be my reſt till this calamity be overpaſt*; then he pulled off his *blew* garter, and ſent it to his Son, and pulling off his doublet, with a very religious cheerfulneſs he ſaid, *I come, Lord Jeſus, and O come thou quickly, that I may be with thee for ever*: upon this he ſaid, *Pray tell me how muſt I lie, I have been called a bloody man, yet truly I never yet had that ſevere curioſity to ſee any man put to death in peace*; then laying himſelf down on the block, after a few minutes he roſe again, and cauſed the block to be a little removed; then ſaid to the Headſman, *Friend, remember what I ſaid to thee: and be no more afraid to ſtrike than I to die*; and *when I put up my hand, do thy work.* So looking round about upon his friends and the people, he ſaid, *The Lord bleſs you all, and once more pray for me and with me*; at which words he kneeled down and prayed privately within himſelf, with great ſighings, about half a quarter of an hour, concluding with the Lords Prayer; then riſing up again, he ſaid, (ſmilingly) *My ſoul is now at reſt and ſo ſhall my body be immediately. The Lord bleſs my King, and reſtore him to his right in this Kingdom, and the Lord bleſs this Kingdom, and reſtore them to their rights in their King, that he and they may joyn hand in hand to ſettle truth and peace; and the Lord bleſs this County, and this Town, and this People. The Lord comfort my ſad wife and children, and reward all my friends with peace and happineſs, both here and hereafter, and the Lord forgive them who were the cauſe and authors of this my ſad end and unjuſt death,*

death, for ſo it is as to mankind; though before God I deſerve much worſe, but I hope my ſins are all bathed in the blood of Jeſus Chriſt. So laying his neck upon the block, and his arms ſtretcht out, he ſaid theſe words.

Bleſſed be Gods glorious name for ever and ever. Let the whole Earth be filled with his glory. Amen, Amen.

At which words, he gave the Headſman the ſign; but he either not obſerving it, or not being ready, ſtayed too long, ſo that his Lordſhip roſe up again, ſaying, Why do you keep me from Saviour? what have I done that I die not, and that I may live with him? Once more I will lay down my ſelf in peace, and ſo take my everlaſting reſt. Then ſaying, *Come Lord Jeſus come quickly*, he ſtretched out his arms, and gave the ſign, repeating the ſame words:

Bleſſed be Gods glorious name for ever and ever. Let the whole earth be filled with his glory. Amen, Amen.

Then lifting up his hand, the Executioner did his work at one blow, all the people weeping and crying, and giving all expreſſions of grief and lamentation.

When the corps were carried off the Scaffold, they carried them to a houſe in the Town, where was thrown into his Coffin in a piece of paper theſe two lines.

Upon *JAMES* Earl of *DERBY.*

Bounty, Wit, Courage, all (here) in one lie dead.
A Stanleys *hand,* Veres *heart, and* Cecil's *head.*

The Sentence of the Council of War.

Reſolved by the Court upon the Queſtion,

That *James* Earl of *Derby* is guilty of the breach of the Act of the 12. of *Auguſt*, 1651. laſt paſt, entituled, *An Act Prohibiting correſpondence with* Charles Stuart *or his party*, and ſo of High-Treaſon againſt the Common-wealth of *England*, and is therefore worthy of death.

Reſol-

Reſolved by the Court,

That the ſaid *James* Earl of *Derby*, is a traytor to the Common-wealth of *England*, and an abettor, encourager and aſſiſter of the declared Traytors and enemies thereof, and ſhall be put to death by ſevering his head from his body, at the Market-place in the Town of *Bolton* in *Lancaſhire*, upon *Wedneſday* the 15. day of this inſtant *October*, about the hour of one of the Clock the ſame day.

The Speech and manner of putting to death Col. John Gerhard, *who was beheaded on* Tower-Hill, July 10. 1654.

Publiſhed by his Friends.

FRom the firſt day of his impriſonment he fore-ſaw the heavy ſentence hovering upon him, and therefore gave all diligence to ſecure himſelf againſt it; that however he underwent a temporal condemnation, he might eſcape an eternal. But after that ſad doom was pronounced, then he beſtirred himſelf amain, and made double haſt for Heaven; It was for his life, and therefore he would loſe no minute, but the ſame night gave directions to a dear friend for a Miniſter (whom he knew to have long honoured his family) to be brought to him early next morning; and it pleaſed Authority to gratifie him in this great deſire, ſo that an order was ſent freely for the quiet admiſſion of any ſuch perſon to him. With this ſpiritual friend he ſpent ſome hours every day in prayer, and other ghoſtly refreſhments, which (God be praiſed) were not without ſweet effect and impreſſions upon his Soul.

Mr. *Bond.* Mr. *Caril.* There were ſome other Miniſters of great obſervation for gravity and godlineſs in theſe times, who viſited him, and who I am confident will put their ſeal to this truth with me, that they found him meek, humble, modeſt; penitent, comforted, and not far from the Kingdom of God; if not already in it:

it: but I have good hope he was in poſſeſſion, and ſo had he, through grace. Upon the morning (which was the laſt he muſt ſee till that of the Reſurrection) he ſubmitted to ſome wholſom orders of the Church; and received her comforts by them. That done, he proceeded to (the higheſt enjoyment of grace that can be adminiſtred upon earth) the holy Communion, whereof with his Brother Sir *Gilbert Gerard* he was a partaker, with as much reverence, zeal, thankfulneſs, holy ſorrows, and holy joys, as a devout Soul could evidence. He wept as if he would have waſhed his Saviours wounds, which his faith preſented in his tears; and yet he ſaid he was admirably raviſhed with all inward peace and comfort in his own conſcience. This paſſed, he had now nothing to do but to die, which he expected that morning very ſpeedily; But by the pleaſure of Authority, both the time and the place of his Execution was altered, ſo that he was to wait a little longer, until evening, for his releaſe. Many friends and perſons of Honour came to take their laſt leave of him, who can gladly witneſs his undiſturbedneſs and civil cheerfullneſs to every one of them. His Brother tarried continually with him, and they are together; and though ſome eruptions of paſſion could not be reſtrained now and then where nature was ſo much concerned, yet they were generally pleaſant, and at laſt parted (about half an hour before he was led forth to death) with us much calmneſs and placidneſs, as if they had been to meet again anon ſafe and unhurt as they had done formerly. So have I ſeen a windy and ſtormy day concluding in ſtilneſs and Sun-ſhine, as if weary and deſiring to reſt without any breath of trouble, The Miniſter only waiting on him to the laſt; and about five a clock enters the Lieut. of the Tower, and the Sheriff of *London*; Two ſure friends, that will not leave him as long as he hath life remaining in him: They told him a ſowr Meſſage, that they were come to conduct him to his death's blow: He reply'd they were very welcom, and received them ſo fearleſs and untroubled, that the Sheriff told the Miniſter, *He was ſorry to ſee him ſo unfit for that condition*; but (under favour) he miſtook his condition, That which he accounted fitneſs to die, our Pamphlet-mongers would have called flagging and cowardiſe. So hard a thing it is to ſatisfie all curioſities, even with our blood, and nothing more

more ingenious than to carry this bitter cup even, when ſo many miſconſtructions ſhake it. At his lodging he deſired the Sheriff that he would permit the Miniſter and three others that were his Friends and Servants to go upon the Scaffold with him; which as it was ſeaſonable wiſdom in him to deſire, ſo was it a fortunate kindneſs from them that granted it, elſe it may be their teſtimony might have been wanting to his injured reputation. He took leave particularly of the houſhold where he was a Priſoner, and was ſo clearly collected in every thing he did, that he went out of his way into the Kitchen to bid his Landlady farewel, giving thanks for her reſpects during his bonds, which he ſaid he ſhould die in to her. As he paſſed by the Guards in the Tower, he gave them money twice, and told them, he ſhould trouble them no longer, being on his remove to better guards. He walked along to the Scaffold on *Tower-hill*, ſhewing a great deal both of humility and reſpect to the people, who generally lamented him, and prayed for him. As he went, he was bare-headed for the moſt part, carrying his Hat in his hand, and ſometimes reſting it in a careleſs bravery on his left ſide. When he came to (or rather leap'd upon) the Scaffold (for he was ſo far from flagging when to tread that Tragical ſtage, that many obſerv'd how ſprightfully he ſeem'd to skip up the ſteps to it, as if he had gone to dance there rather than to die) his grim Executioner preſented himſelf to him, to whom with a cheerful ſmile he ſaid, *Welcom honeſt friend*; And deſiring to ſee his Ax, he took it into his hands, and kiſſing it, with a pretty glance of his eye (which was a natural loveline's in him) towards the Miniſter, he ſaid, *This will do the Deed I warrant it.* The Scaffold was very much crowded with people; yet as well as he could he made ſome turns to and fro upon it, with a paper (which he had taken out of his pocket) in his hand, wherein it ſeems he had prepared ſome heads of a ſpeech which he intended to have delivered: but the Sheriff and Lieutenant told him, if he ſpoke any thing, it muſt be very brief, and that they muſt not ſuffer him to ſpeak any thing that was ſeditious; *well Gentlemen* (ſaid he) *your will be done; but (God be praiſed) I never yet had to do with any thing that was ſeditious! I would fain have ſpoken ſomething to clear my ſelf to the world, according to the cuſtom, if it might have*

been,

been, But come Sir, ſaid he turning to the Miniſter, *Let you and I ſpeak to him that will give us leave:* and ſo kneeling down together in a corner of the ſtage, the Miniſter pray'd with him a ſhort time, which done, they ſtood up again. Then turning himſelf to the people, and putting off his Hat, he told them, *That he was not permitted to ſpeak a few words according to his intention, yet he doubted not but what he would have ſaid would come to their eyes, though it muſt not come to their ears: But this I deſire all to take notice of,* and this he ſpoke (with a double vehemence) *that I die a faithful ſubject and ſervant to King* Charles *the ſecond, whom I pray God to bleſs and reſtore to his Rights; and had I ten thouſand thouſand lives I would glady lay them all down thus for his ſervice.* Here he was interrupted, and the Sheriff wiſhed him rather to confeſs what he knew concerning the horrid Plot he was condemned for; He anſwered, *That he had confeſſed all that he knew concerning any Plot, that he thought they knew more of the Plot that condemned him, than he did; but he heartily forgave them.* The Miniſter told him it was well done to forgive and pardon thoſe that perſecute us: That was an act of true Chriſtian love, but as his caſe ſtood, love was not enough; He ought to deal in this buſineſs (upon which his life lay) with all candour and ſincerity, not concealing any thing of that nature as was charged againſt him as far as he might glorifie God and ſerve the publick good. Upon which lifting up his eyes towards Heaven, and laying his hand upon his breaſt, *Oh Sir,* ſays he, *if there had been any ſuch thing in this breaſt, would I not have revealed it before this time! I proteſt in the ſight of Almighty God, I know no more of any ſuch deſign, but only what I have often acknowledged, that it was motioned to me by* Henſhaw, *(who I confidently believe is in their hands) and debated twice or thrice when I was with him: but I never entertained it at all, and at the laſt flatly diſown'd it, and told him I would have nothing to do in it. He was many times preſſing me to nominate what perſons I knew I could bring, and to have their names; but let them ſhew any ſuch thing if they can againſt me. But I am certain he is in their hands.* Pauſing here a little, and fetching a turn or two upon the Scaffold, being very hot (as he had been all that morning) he call'd for ſome ſmall beer, which he had given order to be ready, and was brought thither in a ſtone

bottle, of which he drank a little once or twice. Then the Miniſter went to him, and minded him that ſomething might be expected from him as to his Religion, and diſpoſition to die. To which (gathering up an extraordinary reſolution in his face) he replyed, *I die a Chriſtian, a true Chriſtian, according to that Faith and Religion which was profeſſed by the Church of* England *in the time of our late King of bleſſed memory. And I praiſe God I am ſo fitted and ready to die, that I am confident by the merits of Chriſt Jeſus, that my ſins are pardoned, and my ſalvation is at hand.* Then turning about he called for his Waſt-coat and Cap, and throwing off his Doublet put them on, whilſt his ſervants helped to put up his hair. His Waſt-coat was not very clean, which he took notice of to his man: *but 'tis no great matter ſaith he, if the heart be clean, all's well enough.* Being thus prepared, he calls for the Block: and viewing it (as with delight) laid himſelf down upon it to ſee how it would fit, and was ſo far from ſinking at the ſight of it, that he almoſt play'd with it: and riſing quickly pulls a little paper-book out of his pocket, which he gave to the Miniſter, willing him to find that particular Prayer which was proper for that occaſion, but the crowd being great, he could not quickly find it, ſo that he kneeled down with the book open a while in his hand as if he had read; but quickly ſhut it, and prayed with great expreſſions of fervency by himſelf. When he had done, the Lieutenant ſaid ſomething to him (as it ſeems) concerning his Brother *Charles* that had witneſſed againſt him; (I know not what the Lieutenant ſaid, for he ſpake low) but Mr. *Gerrard* ſpake aloud, and replyed paſſionately, *O Chriſt Sir! I love my poor Brother with all my heart, he is but a youth and was terrified, I know how he was dealt with; tell him I love him as well as ever I lov'd him in my life. And commend me to my Brother Sir* Gilbert, *whoſe releaſe I beſeech you Sir to aſſiſt: there being no more cauſe, that I know of, for his impriſonment than only that he was found in the ſame bed with me, which ſure is no Capital crime* Having ſaid this, he took his leave of him, and the Sheriff, and all he knew on the Stage: and turning about once more to the people, deſired them to pray for him, himſelf kneeling down with the Miniſter, laid his hand in his boſom, and they prayed together the laſt time. After this he bids them all farewel again, and

beſought

beſought them to remember they had a poor Soveraign abroad who deſerved to be remembred. Then forgiving the Executioner and ſaluting the Miniſter with his laſt embrace and kiſſes, he bow'd himſelf to the ſtroak of death, with as much Chriſtian meekneſs and noble courage mix'd together, as I believe was ever ſeen in any that had bled upon that Altar. And this all the people that were Spectators, did ſeem to underſtand and acknowledge: beholding his fatal blow with an univerſal ſadneſs and ſilence; whereas, when the other Gentleman fell quickly after upon another ſcore of blood and ryot, they gave a great and general ſhout, as applauding the Juſtice of the *Portugals* death; but pitying and bewailing the untimely fall of ſo brave and magnanimous a ſpirit as did (through all the clouds of death) ſhine glorioufly in this unfortunate Gentleman.

His Speech.

Gentlemen,

AS this kind of ſpectacle is no new entertainment to your eyes, for you have had a late glut of ſuch objects: So is it no ſtrange thing to me to be made ſuch a ſpectacle; for I have been bred upon the Theatre of death, and have learned that part ſo well, though I confeſs a very hard one, as to perform it pretty handſomly, both as becomes a Gentleman and a Chriſtian.

Only I muſt deſire you to expect no fine Prologue, or Speech from me; I never ſtudied to make Orations: a very unfit man to lay plots againſt a State, who am ſcarce able to lay a few lines of plain Engliſh together, as I ought: But though I cannot ſpeak happily; I doubt not but I ſhall die happily.

I confeſs my ſelf a great ſinner, Who is innocent? God be merciful to me a miſerable ſinner. I adore the juſtice of God in all this that is come upon me; I have deſerved to die long ſince; and bleſſed be God who hath given me ſuch time to prepare. But for this Crime I ſtand condemned for to day, I do proteſt mine own innocency, as to any conſent or ingagement to to act in it.

I hope you will believe me, when you conſider upon what ſlender proofs and teſtimonies I ſuffer; none of them legal, or poſitive, but circumſtantial.

For my brother Charles, *Alas poor youth! how he was wrought upon! but I desire all my friends to think honourably of him.*

For my Brother Sir Gilbert.

This imagination of a Plot is said to be hatched in France, *but I fear the nest was at* Whitehall.

As for the King, ——*so far from concurring to such a Deed, that I am only unsatisfied in this, whether I shall die right in his favour, because suspected of any thing so unworthy of him.*

I fear he lost his Kingdoms by such practices, but whether he would recover them so, is a question: God hath better ways when it shall be good in his sight to plead his cause.

I was lately in France, *but on my own score; for I have commanded there and probably might.*

For my past life it hath been but a troublesome one, but now I hope I shall rest! Since I was any thing, I have served the King, as I was bound: And I wish all that did so, had done it as faithfully! He was condemned for a Tyrant, but God——

For my Religion, though a Souldier, I am able to profess I am a Christian Souldier, a true Son of the Church of England, *as constituted under Queen* Elizabeth, *King* James, *and King* Charles *of blessed memory. Her Doctrine and Government I embrace, Her Truth and Peace I pray God to restore.*

I humbly give thanks to God Almighty for providing me the comfort of a Minister, on whose fidelity I might repose my Soul.

And I pray God to bless the poor faithful Ministers of this Church, and give you hearts to esteem them; the want whereof is no small want of our misery.

My days have been few and evil, yet God be blessed, in all the vanities and folly of youth, I have been far from Atheism, or contempt of Gods worship; I had always awful impressions of Gods honour and service; which is now my comfort.

And now dear Countrymen fare you well, I pray God bless you all, this whole Nation.

Alas poor England! *When will these black days be over! When will there be blood enough! I wish mine might fill up the measure. I forgive all.*

Once more fare you well; Commend me to all my friends, Pray for me.

I pray God make you as faithful and loyal as I have lived, and

and as happy as I ſhall be by and by when I am dead.
Come Lord Jeſus, come quickly.
Father of mercies have mercy on me!
Saviour of the world, ſave my ſoul.
O lamb of God that takes away the ſins of the world, hear my prayers.
Into thy hands O Lord I commend my ſpirit.
Lord Jeſus receive my ſoul.

The Tryal and Illegal Proceedings againſt the Honourable Col. *John Penruddock*, before the Commiſſioners of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, In the Caſtle of *Exon. April* 19*th* 1655.

Alſo the Letters betwixt him and his Wife, during the time of his ſufferings.

Together with the true Copy of his Speech on the Scaffold before he was Beheaded in the Caſtle of Exon. *the* 16*th day of* May 1655.

Publiſhed by his Friends, from his own Papers.

UPon *Thurſday* the 19. of *April* 1655. the Commiſſioners of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, being ſate in the Caſtle of *Exon*, ſummoned before them my ſelf, Mr. *Hugh Grove*, Mr. *Richard Reeves*, Mr. *Robert Duke*, Mr. *George Duke*, Mr. *Thomas Fitz-James*, Mr. *Francis Jones*, Mr. *Edward Davis*, Mr. *Thomas Poulton*, and Mr. *Francis Bennet*. Being all called to the Bar, we were commanded to hold up our hands, and an Indictment of high Treaſon was read againſt us: and being asked whether we would plead guilty or not guilty to the Indictment; in the behalf of my ſelf and of the Gentlemen therein charged, I ſpake as followeth.

Col. Penrudd. My Lords, though my education hath been such as n. co give me those advantages which the knowledge of the Laws would have assisted me with, for the defending my self: yet upon hearing this very Indictment, my reason tells me, that it is illegal: and therefore I do demand Council that may dispute the illegality thereof.

Serjeant Glyn. Sir, you desire that which cannot be granted, therefore give your answer whether you are guilty or not guilty of the Treason of which you stand charged.

Col. Pen. Sir by your favour, it is that which hath been granted to my inferiors, (*viz.*) to Mr. *Lilburn* and to one *Rolf* a Shoo-maker, and I have as great a right to the Laws as any person that sits here as my Judge, I do therefore challenge it as my right. Judge *Nicholas* whom I there see, will tell you he himself was Council for this *Rolf*: and it is a hard case, if a free-born Gentleman of *England* cannot have the same priviledge that his inferiors have had before him.

Attorney General. Sir, there is a great difference between Treason acting and acted; the latter is your case: therefore flatter not your self, and do not think your being mute shall save your estate in case of Treason; for if you plead not to the Indictment, sentence will be pronounced against you, as if you had been found guilty of the fact you are charged with.

Col. Pen. Sir, I observe your distinction: but all the Logick you have, shall not make me nor any Rational man acknowledge, that this was either acting or acted, before it be proved Sir, it is but a bare suspicion, and I hope you will not condemn me before I am convicted: I say the Indictment is illegal, and I do demand Council.

At. Gen. Sir, the Court must not be dallied withal: I do peremtorily demand of you, are you guilty or not guilty? If you plead, you may have favour, otherwise we shall proceed to sentence.

Col. Pen. Sir, put case I do plead, shall I then have Council allowed me?

At. Gen. Sir, the Court makes no bargains, refer your self to us.

Hereupon my fellow-prisoners perswaded me to plead not guilty: which being done, I demanded Council, as being partly promised it. Mr. Attorney told me: I could have none. Then I replyed: *Col.*

Col. Pen. Sir, *Durus eſt hic ſermo*, it is no more than I expected from you; but rather than I will be taken off unheard, I will make my own defence as well as I can. The Jurors being then called, I challenged about 24. of the 35. I might have challenged. The reſt of the Gentlemen were ſent from the bar; I was left alone upon my trial; and the Jurors were ſo pact, that had I known them, the iſſue had been the ſame that it was. The Jurors being ſworn, and the Indictment again read, Mr. Attorney demanded what exception I could make to it.

Col. Pen. Sir, I except againſt every part thereof: For I take it to be illegal *in toto Compoſito.*

Recorder Steel. Sir, It is not uſual for any Court to admit of general exceptions, therefore we expect that you ſhould make it to ſome particular.

Col. Pen. Sir, I deſire a Copy of my Indictment, and time until to morrow to make my defence.

At. Gen. Sir, You cannot have it; the Court expects you ſhould do it now.

Col. Pen. Then if I cannot have time, if my general exception might have been admitted, it would have told you, that there can be no high Treaſon in this Nation, but it muſt be grounded upon the Common, or the Statute Law: But this is neither grounded upon the Common Law or the Statute, *ergo* no Treaſon (againſt a Protector who hath no power according to Law:) neither is there any ſuch thing in Law as a Protector, for all Treaſons and ſuch pleas are *Propria cauſa Regis.*

Ser. Glyn. Sir, You are peremptory, you ſtrike at the Government; you will fare never a whit the better for this ſpeech: ſpeak as to any particular exception you have to the Indictment.

Col. Pen. Sir, if I ſpeak any thing which grates upon the preſent Government, I may confidently expect your pardon: my life is as dear to me as this Government can be to any of you. The holy Prophet *David* when he was in danger of his life, feigned himſelf mad, and the ſpittle hung upon his beard; you may eaſily therefore excuſe my imperfections. And ſince I am now forced to give you my particular exception (more plainly) to the Indictment, I am bold to tell you, I obſerve in the latter part of the Indictment, you ſay I am guilty of High Treaſon by

vertue of a Statute in that caſe made and provided. If there be any ſuch Statute, pray let it be read; I know none ſuch. My Actions were for the King; and I well remember what *Bract.* ſaith, *Rex non habet ſuperiorem niſi Deum; ſatis habet ad pœnam, quod Deum expectat ultorem.* And in another place he ſaith, *Rex habet poteſtatem & juriſdictionem ſuper omnes qui in regno ſuo ſunt: ea quæ ſunt juriſdictionis & pacis, ad nullum pertinent, niſi ad regiam dignitatem: habet etiam coercionem, ut delinquentes puniat & coerceat:* Again he ſaith, *Omnes ſub Rege, & ipſe ſub nullo niſi tantum Deo; non eſt inferior ſibi ſubjectis; non parem habet in regno ſuo.* This ſhews us where the true power is. You ſhall finde alſo,

That whoſoever ſhall refuſe to aid the King when War is levied againſt him, or any that keep the King from his juſt Rights, offends the Law, and is thereby guilty of Treaſon. Again,

All men that adhere to the King in perſonal ſervice are freed from Treaſon by Law: and yet you tell me of a Statute, which makes my adhering to the King according to Law, to be high Treaſon. Pray let it be read.

At. Gen. You have not behaved your ſelf ſo as to have ſuch a favour from the Court.

Col. Pen. Sir, I require it not as a favour, but as my Right.

At. Gen. Sir, you cannot have it.

Col. Pen. If I cannot have it, theſe Gentlemen that are the Jurors have not offended you: their verdict reaches to their ſouls, as to my life: pray let not them go blindfold, but let that Statute be their guide.

At. Gen. Sir, The Jury ought to be ſatisfied with what hath been already ſaid, and ſo might you too.

Col. Pen. Sir, I thank you: you now tell me what I muſt truſt to.

Mr. Atturney then made a large ſpeech in the face of the Court, wherein he aggravated the offence with divers circumſtances; as ſaying, I had been four years in *France*, and held a correſpondency with the King my Maſter, of whom I had learned the Popiſh Religion; That I endeavoured to bring in a debauched lewd young man, and to engage this Nation in another bloody War; and that if I had not been timely prevented, I had deſtroyed them

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(meaning the Jurors) and their whole families. I interrupted him, and ſaid,

Col. Pen. Mr. Atturny, you have been heretofore of Council for me, you then made my caſe better than indeed it was; I ſee you have the faculty to make men believe falſehoods to be truth too.

At. Gen. Sir, You interrupt me, you ſaid but now, you were a Gentleman.

Col. Pen. Sir, I have been thought worthy heretofore to ſit on the bench, though now I am at the Bar. Mr. Attorny then proceeded in his ſpeech and called the witneſſes. Then I ſaid,

Sir, You have put me in a bears skin, and now you will bait me with a witneſs. But I ſee the face of a Gentleman here in the Court, (I mean Captain *Crook*) whoſe conſcience can tell him, that I had Articles from him, which ought to have kept me from hence. Captain *Crook* hereupon ſtood up, and his guilty conſcience (I ſuppoſed) adviſed him to ſit down again, after he had made this ſpeech, (that is to ſay) he opened his lips and ſpake nothing. The ſeveral witneſſes now come in, Mr. *Dove* the Sheriff of *Wilts*, and others; my charity forbids me to tell you what many of them ſwore: I ſhall therefore omit that, and only tell you, that one of our own party (and indeed I think an honeſt man) being forced to give his evidence, I ſaid, My Lords, it is a hard caſe, that when you find you cannot otherwiſe cleave me in pieces, that you muſt look after wedges made of my own timber. The vertuous Cryer of *Blanford* being asked what were the words I uſed in proclaiming King *Charles* at the market, he ſaid, I declared for *Charles* the Second, and ſetling the true Proteſtant Religion, for the liberty of the Subject, and priviledge of Parliaments.

Then I ſaid unto the Attorny General and the whole Court, you ſaid even now that I had learned of the King my Maſter the Popiſh religion, and endeavoured to bring him in: your own witneſs tells you what, and whom I would bring in, and it was the true Proteſtant, and not the Popiſh Religion, his Majeſty is of, and intends to ſettle. I urged divers caſes to make the buſineſs but a Riot (as my Lord of *Northumberlands*) pretending it was for the taking of Taxes, and that the power was not declared to be where they ſay

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it is. I requir'd the Judges to be of Council for me, and told them it was their duty. Commiſſioner *Liſle* told me I ſhould have no wrong, (but he meant Right) but Judge *Rolls* and *Nicholas* confeſſed themſelves parties, therefore would ſay nothing. Then I told the Court, if I had ſeen a Crown upon the head of any perſon, I had known what had been Treaſon, the Law of *England* would have taken hold of me out of the reſpects it has to Monarchy: There was no ſuch land-mark before me; therefore I conceive, I cannot be guilty of what I am charged with. And my Lord and Mr. Attorney, you here Indict me for a Treaſon committed at *Southmoulton* in *Devonſhire*; and Gentlemen ye ſwear witneſſes againſt me for facts done in other Counties, *Sarum*, *Blanford*, and *Southmoulton* are not in a pariſh. You puzzle the Jurors with theſe circumſtances, pray go to the kernel; and you Gentlemen of the Jury, ſave your labour of taking thoſe notes. Mr. Attorney then addreſſed himſelf to the Jury, and to be ſhort, after the ſpace of half an hour long, gave them directions to bring me in guilty: this being done, I craved the favour from the Court, that I might ſpeak to the Jury; which being allowed, I ſaid to them as followeth, or to the ſame effect.

Gentlemen, You are called a Jury of life and death; and happy will it be for your Souls, if you prove to be a Jury of life. You have heard what hath been ſaid to make my actions Treaſon, and with what vigor many untruths have been urged to you. I have made appear to you, that there can be no Treaſon but againſt the King; that the Law knows no ſuch perſon as a Protector. Mr. *Atturney* pretends a Statute for it, but refuſeth the reading thereof, either to me or you; vilifies me at pleaſure, and tells you I am a Papiſt, and would bring in the Popiſh Religion: and that if I had not been timely prevented, I had deſtroyed you. I hope you are all ſatisfied of the contrary, from the mouth of one of the beſt witneſſes. You are now Judges between me and theſe Judges. Let not the majeſty of their looks, or the glory of their habits betray you to a ſin, which is of a deeper dye than their ſcarlet; I mean that ſin, blood, which calls to Heaven for vengeance. Gentlemen, you do not ſee a hair of my head but is numbred, neither can you make any one of them; much leſs can you put breath into my noſtrils when it is taken out:

a ſparrow doth not fall to the ground without the providence of God, much leſs ſhall man, to whom he hath given dominion and rule over all the creatures of the earth. Gentlemen, look upon me, I am the Image of my creator, and that ſtamp of his which is in my vizage, is not to be defaced without an account given wherefore it was. I have here challenged, as I am a Gentleman and free-born man of *England*, the right which the law allows me; I demanded a copy of my Indictment, and Council, but it is denied me. The Law which I would have been tried by, is the known Law of the Land, which was drawn by the wiſe conſultation of our Princes, and by the ready pens of our Progenitors. The Law which I am now tried by is no Law, but what is cut off by the point of a rebellious Sword; and the ſheets in which they are recorded, being varniſhed with the moiſture of an eloquent tongue, if you look not well to it, may chance to ſerve for ſome of your Shrouds. If the fear of diſpleaſing others ſhall betray you to find me guilty of any thing, you can at the moſt, but make a riot of this. Pray by the way take notice, that the laſt Parliament would not allow the Legiſlative power to be out of themſelves; ſeventeen of twenty in this very County were of that opinion, and deſerted the houſe: they were your Repreſentative: if you find me guilty, you bring them in danger, and in them your ſelves. Have a care of being drawn into a ſnare. Gentlemen, your blood may run in the ſame channel with mine. If what I have ſaid, do not ſatisfie you, ſo as to acquit me, if you bring me in a ſpecial verdict, you do in ſome meaſure acquit your ſelves, and throw the blood that will be ſpilt, upon the Judges; Conſider of it, and the Lord direct you for the beſt.

The Jury after a quarter of an hours retirement, brought me in guilty: the Lord forgive them, for they knew not what they did.

Upon *Monday* the 23 of *April* we were again called to the Bar, being then in number twenty ſix. Serjeant *Glyn* asked of me firſt, what I could ſay for my ſelf, that I ſhould not have ſentence according to the Law? Then I ſaid,

My Lords and Gentlemen, you ask what I can ſay for my ſelf, that I ſhould not have ſentence paſs upon me. The Jury found me guilty; if I ſhould go about to make a defence

defence now, it would signifie no more than as if my friends should petition for my pardon after I am executed. I could have offered you articles here, but I thought them inconsistent with this Court. When I look upon my offence (as to the Protector) I conclude my self a dead man; but when I reflect upon the favour he hath shewed to others of my condition, and the hopes I have of your intercession, me thinks I feel my spirits renewed again. My Lords, death is a debt due from Nature; he has now the keeping the bond and has put it in suit by his Attourny; if he please to forbear the serving me with an execution, and let me keep it a little longer, I will pay him the interest of thanks for it, as long as I live, and engage my posterity and a numerous alliance to be bound for me. So the Lord direct you all for the best. If I have found favour I shall thank you; if not, I shall forgive you.

This being done, Serjeant *Glyn* after a most bitter and nonsensical speech, gave sentence against us; (*viz.*) to be drawn, hanged and quartered. A pretty exchange for unworthy *Crooks* Articles for life, liberty and estate; which I can prove, and will die upon. My tryal held at least five hours. This is as much as at present I can remember of it; excuse the errors.

One of the Jury being asked by a Gentleman why he found me guilty, answered, He was resolved to hang me before he did see me.

I observe treason in this age to be an *individuum vagum*, like the wind in the Gospel, which bloweth where it listeth; for that shall be treason in me to day, which shall be none in another to morrow, as it pleaseth Mr. Attorny.

* *witness one* Benner *and* Stroud *who in open Court confessed to be guilty of all they proved against me, yet Mr. Attorney gave the Jury directions to find them not guilty.*

The * Judges are sworn to do justice according to the Laws of the Land, and therefore have miserably perjured themselves in condemning me contrary to Law: And (not so contented) must cause the Jury (so wise they were) through their false and unjust directions to destroy their own rights and properties, and set up a new Arbitrary and Tyranical Government.

The

The Judges would not give me their advice in point of Law, (as was their duty) becauſe they ſaid they were parties; yet could ſit ſtill on the Bench in their Robes, to countenance (and approve of) my Sentence.

No man can be a Judge where he is a Party in the ſame cauſe; therefore my tryal was contrary to Law.

* Hobart *Folio* 120. *Doct.* Bonames *caſe* 8. *part of* Cooks *reports.*

The Judges being parties, ought not ſit upon the Bench (but ſtand by;) therefore my trial was illegal: the reſt being no Judges but the Protectors immediate ſervants, ſo could not be my Judges in caſe of High Treaſon; for none but the ſworn Judges of the Land are capable of it by Law.

One thing of Colonel *Dove* the reverend Sheriff of *Wilts*, who that the Jury might be ſufficiently incenſed, complaining of the many incivilities (he pretended) were offered him by our party, being upon his Oath, ſaid that one of our men did run him through the ſide with a Carbine. Surely it was a very ſmall one, for the wound was not diſcernable.

A great deal of pains every man in his place took for the carrying on their Maſters work.

Be merciful unto me O Lord, be merciful unto me; under the ſhadow of thy wings will I hide my ſelf till this Tyranny be overpaſt.

Glory be to God on High, in earth peace, good will towards men; and ſo have mercy on me, O Lord.

JOHN PENRUDDOCK.

Mrs. *Penruddock*'s laſt letter to her honourable and dear Husband.

My dear heart,

My ſad parting was ſo far from making me forget you, that I ſcarce thought on my ſelf ſince, but wholly upon you. Thoſe dear embraces which I yet feel ſhall never loſe being the

the faithful testimonies of an indulgent husband, have charmed my soul to such a reverence of your remembrance, that were it possible, I would with my own blood cement your dead limbs to life again, and (with reverence) think it no sin to rob heaven a little while longer of a Martyr. Oh my dear! you must now pardon my passion, this being my last (oh fatal word!) that ever you will receive from me. And know that until the last minute that I can imagin you shall live, I will sacrifice the prayers of a Christian, and the groans of an afflicted wife: And when you are not, (which sure by sympathy I shall know) I shall wish my own dissolution with you, that so we may go hand in hand to heaven: 'Tis too late to tell you what I have (or rather have not) done for you; how turned out of doors, because I came to beg mercy: the Lord lay not your blood to their charge. I would fain discourse longer with you, but Passion begins to drown my Reason, and will rob me of my devoir, which is all I have left to serve you. Adieu therefore, ten thousand times my dearest dear; and since I must never see you more, take this prayer; May your Faith be so strengthened, that your Constancy may continue; and then I know that heaven will receive you, whither grief and love will in a short time (I hope) translate

May the 3. at 11. a clock at night. My dear, Your sad, but constant wife even to love your ashes when dead,

Arundel Penruddock.

Your Children beg your blessing, and present their duties to you.

The

The laſt letter from the honourable Colonel *Penruddock*, in anſwer to his vertuous Lady.

My Deareſt Heart,

I *Even now received thy farewel Letter: each word whereof repreſents unto me a moſt lively Emblem of your affection, drawn with thy own hand in water colours, to the figure of a deaths head. My dear, I imbrace it, as coming firſt from God, and then from Man:* for what is there done in this City that the Lord hath not permitted? *I look upon every line of thine, as ſo many threads twiſted together into that of my life, which being now woven, my meditations tell me, will make a fit remnant for my winding ſheet. Upon the reading thereof, I may ſay with the Prophet,* I ſhould have utterly fainted, but that I believe verily to ſee the goodneſs of the Lord in the land of the living. *As this is mine, my Dear, ſo let it be thy conſolation. When I think what a wife and what Children I go from, and look no further, I begin to cry,* O wretched man that I am! *But when my thoughts ſoar higher, and fix themſelves upon thoſe things which are above, where I ſhall find God my Creatour to my Father, and his Son my Redeemer to my Brother, (for ſo they have vouchſafed to term themſelves;) then I lay aſide thoſe relations, and do of all love, my Dear, deſire thee, not to look towards my grave where my Body lies, but toward heaven, where I hope my Soul ſhall gain a Manſion in my Fathers houſe. I do ſtedfaſtly believe, that God hath heard the prayers of my friends, and thine, and mine: and how knoweſt thou O woman, whether thou haſt not ſaved thy husband? Let thoſe conſiderations raiſe thy ſpirit, I beſeech thee; and that for Gods ſake and mine. Though I lie among the children of men, which are ſet on fire againſt me; yet under the ſhadow of the Almightyes wings I will hide my ſelf till this tyranny be overpaſt. The greateſt conflict I have had in this extremity, was my parting with thee: the next encounter is to be with Death; and my Saviour hath ſo pulled out the ſting thereof, that I hope to aſſault it without fear. Though the Arms of men have been too hard for me, yet I am now liſting my ſelf under the conduct of my Soveraign, and an Army of Martyrs, that the gates of hell cannot prevail againſt. My Dear, I have now another ſubject to think on, therefore you muſt excuſe*

the

the imperfections you finde here. I have formerly given you directions concerning my children, to which I shall refer you. May the blessing of Almighty God be upon thee and them, and may there not want a man of my name to be ready to be a sacrifice in this cause of God, and his Church, so long as the Sun and Moon shall endure. I shall now close up all, with desiring you to give a testimony for me to the world, that I die with so much Charity, as to forgive all my enemies. I will joyn them in my last prayers, for my friends: Amongst which, you and my children are for my sake obliged to pay a perpetual acknowledgment to Mr. Rolles *and his Lady, and my cousin* * *Mr.* Sebastine Isack, *for their great sollicitations on my behalf. If I should forget this City of* Exeter *for their civilities to my own self in particular, and indeed to all of us, I should leave a reproach behind me. I will give them thanks at my death; and I hope you and yours will do it when I am dead. My dear heart, I once more bid thee adieu, and with as much love and sincerity as can be imagined, subscribe my self,*

* *Nota bene*, Mr. *Sebastine Isack* although he seemed very sollicitous for Colonel *Penruddock* in his life, since his death hath been very unworthy to his memory (contrary to his promise, to the said Colonel, in his life) and hath done contrary to the will of the dead, the trust reposed in him, the principle of honour, and much unbecoming a Gent.

Exon. May 7th. 1655.

Thy dying and loving Husband,

John Penruddock.

The

The Speech of the Honourable Colonel Penruddock, *which he delivered upon the Scaffold in* Exon *Caſtle the* 16. *day of* May, 1655.

As he was aſcending the Scaffold, baring his knees, and humbly bowing himſelf, he uſed theſe words; This I hope will prove to be like *Jacob*'s Ladder; though the feet of it reſt on earth, yet I doubt not, but the top of it reacheth to Heaven.

When he came upon the Scaffold, he ſaid,

O wretched man that I am, who ſhall deliver me from this body of death? I thank God who hath given me victory through our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

Then with abundance of Chriſtian cheerfulneſs he ſpake to the people as followeth.

Gentlemen,

IT hath ever been the cuſtom of all perſons whatſoever when they come to die, to give ſome ſatisfaction to the world, whether they be guilty of the fact of which they ſtand charged. The crime for which I am now to die, is Loyalty, (but) in this age called high Treaſon. I cannot deny, but that I was at South-Moulton *in this County: but whether my being there, or my action there, amount to ſo high a crime as high Treaſon, I leave to the world and the Law to judge. Truly, if I were conſcious to my ſelf of any baſe ends that I had in this undertaking, I would not be ſo injurious to my own ſoul, or diſingenuous to you, as to make a publick acknowledgment thereof. I ſuppoſe that divers perſons, according as they are by their ſeveral intereſts and relation biaſſed, give their opinions to the world concerning us. I conceive it impoſſible therefore ſo to expreſs my ſelf in this particular, as not to expoſe both my judgment and reputation to the cenſure of many which I ſhall leave behind me. Becauſe I will not put others (therefore) upon a*

breach of charity concerning me or my actions, I have thought fit to decline all discourses which may give them a capacity either to injure themselves or me. My Tryal was publick, and my several examinations (I believe) will be produced when I am in my grave. I will refer you therefore to the first, which I am sure some of you heard, and to the later, which many of you (in good time) may see. Had Captain Crook done himself and us that right which a Gentleman and a Souldier ought to have done, I had not now been here. The man I forgive with all my heart: but truly Gentlemen his protesting against those Articles he himself with so many protestations and importunities put upon us, hath drawn so much dishonour and blood upon his own head, that I fear some heavy judgment will pursue him. Though he hath been false to us, I pray God that I do not prove a true prophet to him.

Nay, I must say more, that coming on the road to Exon, he the said Captain Crook told me, Sir Joseph Wagstaffe was a gallant Gentleman, and that he was sorry that he was not taken with us; that then he might have had the benefit of our Articles: but now (said he) I have beset all the Country for him, so that he cannot escape, but must be hanged.

He also questioned me, as I passed through Salisbury from London, whether he had given me conditions. Which I endeavouring to make appear to Major Butler: he interrupted me, and unwillingly confessed it, saying, I profered him four hundred pounds to perform his Articles: which had been a strange profer of mine, had I not really conditioned with him. And I told him then (having found him unworthy) I would have given him five hundred pounds, believing him to be mercenary. To make it further appear I injure him not by styling him unworthy, after these Articles were given he profered to pistol me, if I did not perswade another house to yield which then were boldly resisting. To which my servant John Biby (now a prisoner) replyed, I hope you will not be so unworthy, as to break the Law of Arms.

Thus much I am obliged to say to the honour of the Souldiery, that they have been so far from breaking any Articles given to others, that they have rather bettered them than otherwise.

It is now our misfortune to be made presidents and examples together, but I will not do the Protector so much injury as to load him with this dishonour; since I have been informed, that he would have made our conditions good, if Crook that gave them had not abjur'd them.

This

This is not a time for me to inlarge upon any ſubject, ſince I am now become the Subject of death: But ſince the Articles were drawn by my hand, I thought my ſelf obliged to a particular Juſtification of them.

I could tell you of ſome Souldiers which are turned out of his troop for defending thoſe conditions of ours: but let that paſs; and henceforward in ſtead of Life, Liberty and Eſtate (which were the Articles agreed upon) let drawing, hanging and quartering bear the Denomination of Captain Crooks *Articles.*

However I thank the Protector for granting me this honourable Death.

I ſhould now give you an accompt of my Faith. But truly Gentlemen, this poor Nation is rent into ſo many ſeveral opinions, that it is impoſſible for me to give you mine without diſpleaſing ſome of you. However, if any be ſo critical as to inquire of what Faith I die, I ſhall refer him to the Apoſtles, Athanaſius, *and the* Nicene *Creed, and to the teſtimony of this Reverend Gentleman Dr.* Short, *to whom I have unboſomed my ſelf: and if this do not ſatisfie, look in the thirty nine Articles of the Catholick Church of* England; *to them I have ſubſcribed and do own them as authentick.*

Having now given you an account concerning my ſelf; I hold my ſelf obliged in duty to ſome of my friends, to take off a ſuſpicion which lies upon them: I mean as to ſome perſons of Honour, which upon my examination I was charged to have held correſpondency with. The Marqueſs of Hartford, *the Marqueſs of* Wincheſter, *and my Lord of* Pembrook *were the perſons nominated to me. I did then acquit them, and do now ſecond it with this proteſtation, That I never held any correſpondence with either or any of them, in relation to this particular buſineſs, or indeed to any thing which concerned the Protector or his Government. As for the Marqueſs of* Wincheſter, *I ſaw him ſome twelve years ſince, and not later; and if I ſhould ſee him here preſent, I believe I ſhould not know him. And for the Earl of* Pembrook, *he was not a man likely to whom I ſhould diſcover my thoughts, becauſe he is a man of a contrary judgment.*

I was examined likewiſe concerning my Brother Freke, *my Couſin* Haſtings, *Mr.* Dorington *and others. It is probable their Eſtates may make them liable to this my condition: but I do here ſo far acquit them, as to give the world this farther proteſtation; that I am confident they are as innocent in this buſineſs as the youngeſt child here.*

I have no more to say to you now, but to let you know, that I am in charity with all men; I thank God: I both can and do forgive my greatest persecutors, and all that ever had any hand in my death.

I have offered the Protector as good security for my future demeanour as I suppose he could have expected: if he had thought fit to have given me my life, certainly I should not have been so ungrateful as to have imployed it against him. I do humbly submit to Gods pleasure, knowing that the issues of life and death are in his hand. My blood is but a small sacrifice, if it had been saved: I am so much a Gentleman as to have given thanks to him that had preserved it; and so much a Christian, as to forgive them which take it. But seting God by his providence hath called me to lay it down, I willingly submit to it, though terrible to nature; but blessed be my Saviour, who hath taken out the sting; so that I look upon it without terror. Death is a debt, and a due debt; and it hath pleased God to make me so good a Husband, that I am come to pay it before it is due. I am not ashamed of that cause for which I die, but rather rejoyce that I am thought worthy to suffer in the defence and cause of Gods true Church, my lawful King, the liberty of the subject, and Priviledge of Parliaments: Therefore I hope none of mine alliance and friends will be ashamed of it, it is so far from pulling down my Family, that I look upon it as the raising it one story higher. Neither was I so prodigal of nature as to throw away my life, but have used (though none but honourable and honest) means to preserve it.

These unhappy times indeed have been very fatal to my family: two of my Brothers already slain, and my self going to the slaughter: it is Gods will, and I humbly submit to that providence.

I must render an acknowledgment of the great civilities that I have received from this City of Exon, *and some persons of quality, and for their plentiful provision made for the prisoners. I thank Mr. Sheriff for his favour towards us, in particular to my self; and I desire him to present my due respects to the Protector, and though he had no mercy for my self, yet that he would have respect to my Family.*

I am now stripping off my cloaths to fight a duel with death, (I conceive no other duel lawful) but my Saviour hath pull'd out the sting of this mine enemy, by making himself a sacrifice for me: And truly I do not think that man deserving one drop of his

his blood, that will not ſpend all for him in ſo good a cauſe.

The truth is, Gentlemen, in this age, Treaſon is an Individuum vagum, *like the wind in the Goſpel, it bloweth where it liſteth: So now Treaſon is what they pleaſe, and lighteth upon whom they will. Indeed no man, except he will be a Traitour, can avoid this Cenſure of Treaſon: I know not to what end it may come, but I pray God my own, and my Brothers blood that is now to die with me, may be the laſt upon this ſcore.*

Now Gentlemen, you may ſee what a condition you are in without a King: you have no law to protect you, no rule to walk by; when you perform your duty to God, your King and Country, you diſpleaſe the Arbitrary power now ſet up: (I cannot call it government.) I ſhall leave you to peruſe my Trial, and there you ſhall ſee, what a condition this poor Nation is brought into; and (no queſtion) will be utterly deſtroyed, if not reſtored (by Loyal Subjects) to its old and glorious Government. I pray God he lay not his Judgment upon England *for their ſluggiſhneſs in doing their duty, and readineſs to put their hands in their boſoms, or rather taking part with the Enemy of Truth. The Lord open their eyes, that they may be no longer led, or drawn into ſuch ſnares: elſe the Child unborn will curſe the day of their Parents birth.*

God Almighty preſerve my lawful King Charles *the ſecond, from the hands of his Enemies, and break down the wall of* Pride *and Rebellion, which ſo long hath kept him from his juſt Rights. God preſerve his Royal Mother, and all his Majeſties Royal Brethren, and incline their hearts to ſeek after him. God incline the hearts of all true* Engliſh *men, to ſtand up as one Man to bring in the King; and Redeem themſelves and this poor Kingdom, out of its more than* Egyptian *ſlavery.*

As I have now put off theſe garments of cloth, ſo I hope I have put off my garments of ſin, and have put on the Robes of Chriſts Righteouſneſs here, which will bring me to the enjoyment of his glorious Robes anon.

Then he kneeled down and kiſſed the block, and ſaid thus: I commit my ſoul to God my Creatour and Redeemer. Look on me, O Lord, at my laſt gaſping. Hear my prayer, and the prayers of all good people. I thank thee, O God for all thy diſpenſations towards me.

Then kneeling down, he prayed moſt devoutly, as followeth. O Eternal, Almighty, and moſt merciful God, the Righteous

Judge of all the world, look down in mercy on me a miserable sinner. O blessed Jesus Redeemer of Mankind, which takest away the sins of the world, let thy perfect manner of obedience be presented to thy Heavenly Father for me. Let thy precious death and blood be the Ransome and satisfaction of my many and hainous transgressions. Thou that sittest at the right hand of God, make intercession for me. O holy and blessed Spirit, which art the comforter, fill my heart with thy consolation. O holy, blessed, and glorious Trinity, be merciful to me, confirm my faith in the promises of the Gospel, revive and quicken my hope and expectation of joyes, prepared for true and faithful servants. Let the infinite Love of God my Saviour make my love to him stedfast, sincere, and constant.

O Lord consider my condition, accept my tears, asswage my grief, give me comfort and confidence in thee: impute not unto me my former sins, but most merciful Father receive me into thy favour for the merits of Christ Jesus. Many and grievous are my sins, for I have sinned many times against the light of knowledge, against remorse of conscience, against the motions and opportunities of grace. But accept I beseech thee, the sacrifice of a broken and contrite heart, in and for the perfect sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction of thy Son Jesus Christ. O Lord receive my soul after it is delivered from the burthen of the flesh into perfect joy in the sight and fruition of thee. And at the general resurrection grant that my body may be endowed with immortality, and received with my soul into glory.

I praise thee O God, I acknowledge thee to be the Lord. O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy on me. Thou that sittest at the right hand of God, hear my prayer. O Lord Jesus Christ, God and Man, Mediatour betwixt God and Man, I have sinned as a Man; be thou merciful to me as a God. O holy and blessed Spirit, help my infirmities, with those sighs and groans which I cannot express.

Then he desired to see the Axe, and kissed it, saying, I am like to have a sharp passage of it, but my Saviour hath sweetned it unto me.

Then he said, if I would have been so unworthy as others have been, I suppose, I might by a lie have saved my life, which I scorn to purchase at such a rate. I defie such temptations, and them that gave them me.

Glory be to God on high: On Earth peace: Good will towards

wards Men. And the Lord have mercy upon my poor Soul. Amen.

So laying his Neck upon the block, after ſome private Ejaculations, he gave the Headſman a ſign with his hand, who at one blow, ſevered his head from his body.

The Speech of that piouſly reſolved Hugh Grove *of* Chiſenbury *in the pariſh of* Enford *and County of* Wilts *Eſquire, beheaded the* 16. *day of* May, 1655. *in the Caſtle at* Exon.

Good people,

I Never was guilty of much Rhetorick, nor ever loved long Speeches in all my life; and therefore you cannot expect either of them from me now at my death. All that I ſhall deſire of you, beſides your hearty prayers for my Soul, is; That you will bear me witneſs, I die a true Son of the Church of *England*, as it was eſtabliſhed by King *Edward* the ſixth, Queen *Elizabeth*, King *James*, and King *Charles* the firſt of ever bleſſed memory: That I die a Loyal Subject to King *Charles* the ſecond my undoubted Soveraign, and a lover of the good old Laws of the Land, the juſt Priviledges of Parliaments, and Rights and Liberties of the People; for the re-eſtabliſhing of all which I do undertake this engagement, and for which I am ready to lay down my life. God forgive the bloody minded Jury and thoſe that procured them: God forgive Captain *Crook* for denying his Articles ſo unworthily: God forgive Mr. *Dove*, and all other perſons ſwearing ſo maliciouſly and falſely againſt me: God forgive all my enemies; I heartily forgive them. God bleſs the King and all that love him, turn the hearts of all that hate him; God bleſs you all, and be merciful to you and to my Soul, *Amen.*

And ſo meekly laying his neck to the block, and giving a ſign, his head at one blow, and a draw of the Axe, was ſevered from his body.

The Manner of the Execution of Sir Henry Slingsby *on Tuesday the* 8. *of* June, 1658. *upon* Tower-hill: *With the ſubſtance of his Speech before his Death.*

ABout Eleven of the Clock Sir *Henry Slingsby* was brought from the Tower to the Scaffold on *Tower-Hill*; whither being come, he fell upon his knees, and for a ſhort time prayed privately.

Then ſtanding up, he did in a ſhort Speech, and with a very low voice, addreſs himſelf to that noble Gentleman Mr. Sheriff *Robinſon*, telling him that what he had to ſay he would ſpeak to him; which was to this purpoſe:

That he had received a Sentence to die, upon account of his endeavouring to betray the Garriſon of Hull: *But ſaid, All that he did in that buſineſs he was drawn into by others.*

That the Officers of that Garriſon did believe he had ſome greater Deſign in hand, and therefore they would needs pump him to the bottom: But what he ſpoke to them in private was brought into evidence againſt him. He likewiſe ſaid, That he did no more than any perſon would have done that was ſo brought on.

That he had made many applications (by his Friends) for a Reprieve, but found his Highneſs was inexorable.

He did confeſs that he did deliver a Commiſſion (as it was charged againſt him:) But ſaid, that it was an old Commiſſion, and what he meant was well known to himſelf; but what conſtruction others had made of it might appear by his preſent condition.

He diſcovered little ſenſe of ſorrow, or fear of Death; but ſaid, *He was ready to ſubmit*, or words to like purpoſe.

Then he addreſſed himſelf to private prayer again; and kneeling down at the Block he prayed privately for a ſhort ſpace: Then laid his head upon the Block, and at the ſign given, the Executioner ſevered His Head from his Body at one blow: And his Friends put his Body into a Coffin, and removed it into a cloſe Coach prepared near the place.

The

The manner of the Execution of the Reverend Doctor John Hewyt, D. D. *on the ſame Scaffold, on Tueſday the ſame* 8th. *of* June, 1658. *with his Speech before his Death.*

BEing come upon the Scaffold (together with Dr. *Wild*, Dr. *Warmſtry* and Mr. *Barwick*) he fell upon his knees, and prayed privately for the ſpace of a quarter of an hour; After that he prayed audibly for a good ſpace.

After which prayer he addreſſed himſelf to the people in a Speech which continued above the ſpace of an hour, the ſubſtance of which Speech was as followeth.

I am now become a publick Spectacle to Men and Angels, and (I hope) God, who is Omniſcient, is now beholding me with much pity, and great mercy and compaſſion; and the more, becauſe I am now come to that end that his own Son came into the world to, To bear witneſs to the truth: he himſelf ſaid, *For this end was I born, for this cauſe came I into the world, that I ſhould bear witneſs to the Truth*: I was brought into the world (the Chriſtian world) for to bear witneſs to the truth of the Goſpel, as a common Chriſtian; I was brought into the world (the Church) as a Miniſter of his bleſſed Word and Sacraments; [Bleſſed be his name for that great honour and dignity;] and I came into the world to die more immediately for the teſtimony of JESUS, which God hath now called me to. I came into this world (this Common-wealth) to be a member thereof, to bear witneſs to the truths of the Cuſtoms, the Laws, the Liberties, and Priviledges thereof, So I am a Member of the Common-wealth: And me thinks it ſeems to me a ſtrange thing, that in as much as we all plead for Liberty, and Priviledges, and I pleading for the Priviledges, the Laws, the Statutes, and the Cuſtoms of this Land, yet I ſhould die by thoſe that ſhould ſtand for the Laws, the Statutes, and Priviledges of the Land: And I am here beheld by thoſe that plead for their Liberties, and I hope I am pitied, becauſe I here give up my ſelf willingly and freely to be a State Martyr for the publick good; and I had rather die many deaths

deaths my ſelf, than betray my fellow-freemen to ſo many inconveniences that they might be like to ſuffer by being ſubject to the wills of them that willed me to this death.

And it is worthy remembrance, that Mr. *Sollicitor* having impeached me of Treaſon to the Commiſſioners of the Court againſt his Highneſs, I did often (when brought before thoſe Commiſſioners) plead for the Liberties of the people of *England*: though I had no knowledge of the Law, yet I had inſtruction from thoſe that were learned in the Law, and had ſeveral Law-Caſes and Preſidents put into my hand, though not by them, and urged ſeveral Law-Caſes, and made my Appeal. Firſt for the Judicature that I was to be tryed by, whether it were according to Law? whether it were according to the Act? and whether it were according to the words of the ſaid Act? I did appeal to have the ſaid Act argued by learned Lawyers on both ſides, and then to be reſolved by his Highneſs own Council, which was denied me, [This by the by] I preſſing the Argument made a ſecond Appeal that thoſe Judges if they would give ſingly their ſeveral Judgements that it was a juſt and lawful Court of Judicature, I would anſwer to my Charge. I did make another Appeal to thoſe that were his Highneſs's Council, and pleaded againſt me, That if they would deliver it to me under their hands to be according to Law, I would then go on to plead and anſwer to the Charge. What was then ſaid further, my ſpirits being faint, I ſhall not ſay much, but only this, I was taken in three defaults upon formality of the Court. It ſeems it is a cuſtom in all Courts, (which I did not know before) that if they anſwer not the third time ſpeaking by the Clerk, that then they are guilty of three defaults, and proceeded againſt as mute: [I had no ſuch knowledge of the Law.] So they found me guilty of thoſe defaults; and when I would have pleaded, and reſolved to begin to plead, I was taken from the Bar. I did the next day make my Petition to the Court in the Painted-Chamber, two Petitions were preſented the ſame in effect; the former the Title was miſtaken: Yet becauſe the Title was miſtaken, and no anſwer given, therefore it was that another Petition was drawn up to the ſame effect, with a new Title given, (as I remember) preſented by the Serjeant at Arms, and one writ it over in ſuch haſt, leſt they ſhould be drawn

out

out of the Painted-Chamber into the Court, that I had not time to read it over, only I ſubſcribed my name, and there was in the front of the Petition a word left out, but what the word was I know not; and this was taken ſo ill, as if I had put an affront and contempt upon the Court; And it was thought they would have heard me plead; and then becauſe of that miſtake, they ſent word, I ſhould have my anſwer when I came into the Court; and my anſwer was the ſentence of condemnation. And therefore I pray with all my Soul, that God would forgive all thoſe that occaſioned the charge to be drawn againſt me; to give ſuch unjuſt things againſt me: I pray with all my Soul, that God would forgive all thoſe that upon ſo ſlender and ſmall grounds adjudg'd me to die, taking advantage of ſuch ſimple Ignorance as I was in. And I had at the very beginning of my pleading engaged their Honours, no advantage ſhould be taken againſt me to my prejudice, in as much as I underſtood nothing of the Law. And having heard that a man in the nicety of the Law might be loſt in the ſeverity thereof meerly for ſpeaking a word out of ſimple ignorance, I made it my prayer to them, that no advantage might be taken againſt me to the prejudice of my perſon: and there was to me a ſeeming conſent; for the Preſident told me, there ſhould be no advantage taken againſt me: and upon theſe conſiderations I am afraid there was too great uncharitableneſs. But I pray God forgive them from the very bottom of my Soul, and I deſire that even thoſe that ſhed my blood, may have the bowels of the God of Mercy ſhed for them.

And now having given you the occaſion of my coming hither, it is fit I ſhould give you ſomewhat as concerning my ſelf, as I am a Chriſtian, and as I am a Clergy-man. Firſt, as I am a Chriſtian, I thank God I was baptized to the Holy Church, ſo I was baptized to be a Member of the Holy Catholick Church, that is the Church of *England*, which I dare ſay for purity of Doctrine, and orderly Diſcipline, till a ſad Reformation had ſpoiled the face of the Church, and made it a quere, whether it were a Church, or no? I ſay, it was more purely Divine and Apoſtolical, than any other Doctrine or Church in the Chriſtian World, whether National, or Claſſical, or Congregational: And I muſt tell you, That as I am a Member of this Church, ſo I

am

am a Member of the holy Catholick Church, and ſhall give a moſt juſt confeſſion of my Faith, both negatively and affirmatively. Negatively, I am ſo a Member of the holy Catholick Church, that I abhor all Sects, Schiſms, Sedition, and Tyranny in Religion. Affirmatively ſo, that as I hold Communion with, ſo I love and honour all Chriſtians in the world, that love the ſame Lord JESUS in ſincerity, and call on his Name, agreeing with thoſe truths that are abſolutely neceſſary and clearly demonſtrated in the Word of God, both in the Old and New Teſtament, though in charity diſſenting from ſome others that are not neceſſary. And I, as I am thus a Chriſtian, I hope for ſalvation through the Merits of Chriſt Jeſus, his blood I rely on, his merits I truſt to for the Salvation of my own Soul: though to this Faith good Works are neceſſary; not meritorious in us, but only made meritorious by Chriſt his death; by his all-ſufficiency, by his ſatisfaction, and his righteouſneſs, they become meritorious, but in us they are no other than as defiled Rags. And truly, as I am a Member of the Church, ſo I told you, I was a Member of this Community, and ſo pleaded for the Liberties and Priviledges thereof. I muſt now anſwer ſomething I am aſperſed withal in the world.

They talk of ſomething of a Plot, and a Treaſonable deſign, and that I had a great intereſt in the knowledge and practice thereof, and that, for the ſaving my life, I would have diſcovered and betrayed I cannot tell what. I hope my converſation hath not been ſuch here in this City, where I have been a long time very well known, as to make one imagine I ſhould intermeddle in ſuch an action, and go ſo contrary to the practice of my profeſſion: and I hope there are none ſo uncharitable towards me, as to believe I had a knowledge of that deſign.

Here I muſt come to particulars, for a Plot, of having deſign upon the City of *London*, for the firing of it. I ſo much tremble at the thought of the thing that ſhould have been done, as they ſay, for the carrying on of ſuch a deſign, (if my heart deceive me not) had I known it, I ſo much abhor the thing, I ſhould have been the firſt diſcoverer of it: Nor ever had I correſpondency or meetings with ſuch perſons as would have carried on ſuch a deſign. It is ſaid likewiſe I entertained the Earl, the Marqueſs of *Ormond*;

ond

mond: To my remembrance I never ſaw the face of that honourable perſon in my life. It is ſaid, one Lords day I did preach at Saint *Gregories*, and the next Lords day I was at *Bruſſels* or *Bruges*, and kiſt the Kings hand, and brought I cannot tell what Orders and Inſtructions from him. This I ſhall ſay, For theſe three years laſt paſt together, I have not been ſixty miles from this City of *London*, and I think it is ſomewhat further to either of thoſe places than threeſcore miles. It is ſaid that I kept correſpondency with one *Mallory* and *Biſhop:* They are perſons I have heard of their names; but never ſaw their faces; and to my knowledge I do not know they know me: nor do I know them at all, but only as I have heard of their names. And whoſoever elſe hath ſuggeſted ſuch things againſt me, I know not.

His Highneſs was pleaſed to tell me, I was like a flaming Torch in the midſt of a ſheaf of Corn: He meaning I being a publick Preacher, was able to ſet the City on fire by ſedition and combuſtions, and promoting deſigns. Here truly I do ſay, and have it from many of thoſe who are Judges of the High-Court, that upon examination of the buſineſs they have not found me a medler at all in theſe Affairs. And truly I muſt needs ſay therefore, That it was a very uncharitable act in them (whoever they were) that brought ſuch accuſation againſt me, and irritated his Highneſs againſt me, I will not ſay it was malice, it might be zeal, but it was raſh zeal which cauſed me to be ſentenced to this place: The God of mercy pardon and forgive them all. And truly as I am a Member of the Church, and as a member of the Community on whoſe behalf I have been ſpeaking, I cannot but do as our Saviour himſelf did for his Diſciples when he was to be taken from them, he bleſſed them, and aſcended up to heaven. My truſt is, in the mercy of the moſt High I ſhall not miſcarry; and however my daies are ſhortned by this unexpected doom, and ſhall be brought untimely to the grave: I cannot go without my prayer for a bleſſing upon all the people of this Land, and cannot but bleſs them all in the name of God, and beſeech God to bleſs them in all their ways, and his bleſſing be upon them.

Let

Let us pray.

O Most glorious Lord God, thou whose dwelling is so far above the highest Heavens, that thou humblest thy self but to look upon the things that are in Heaven, and that are in earth, and thou dost whatsoever thou wilt both in Heaven, in Earth, in the Sea, and in all deep places. In thy hands are the hearts of all men, and thou turnest them which way soever thou wilt. O Lord! look in mercy and compassion, we beseech thee, on this great and numerous people of this Land; look upon them, O Lord! with an eye of pity, not with an eye of fury and indignation; O look not upon all those great and grievous sins that have provoked thee most justly to wrath and displeasure against us. Gracious God! who can stand in thy sight when thou art angry? when thou with rebuke dost correct man for sin, thou makest his beauty to consume away like as it were a Moth fretting a garment. O Lord! thy indignation and wrath lies heavy upon us, and thou hast vexed us with scourges, thou hast made us a reproach and a by-word amongst our Neighbours, and the very Heathen laugh us to scorn. Oh that thou wouldest turn us again, O Lord God of hosts! that thou wouldst shew us the light of thy countenance, that we may behold it; that thou wouldst humble us for all those sins and grievous transgressions that are amongst us; for those Atheisms, for those infidelities, horrid Blasphemies, and Prophaneness, for those Sacrileges, for those Heresies, for those Schisms, Errors, and all those blindnesses of heart, pride, vain-glory and hypocrisie; for that envy, hatred and malice, and all uncharitableness, that hath set us one against another, that we are so dashed one against another, even to destroy each other; Ephraim against Manasseh, and Manasseh against Ephraim, and both against Judah. O Lord! we are like those Moabites and Ammonites, &c.——— This thou hast done to us, O Lord, because we have rebelled against thee: O how greatly and grievously have we sinned against thee! yet for all this thou hast not requited us according to our ill deservings, for thou mightest have brought us to desolation and destruction: Fire might have come down from Heaven and destroyed us; our forraign enemies, and the enemies of thee and thy Christ our Saviour, might have swallowed us up. What have we not deserved? Yet, O the long-suffering, and patience, and goodness of our God! O Lord our God! we pray thee that thy patience and long-suffering might

might lead to repentance, that thou wouldſt be pleaſed, thou who delighteſt not in the death of a ſinner, but rather that he ſhould turn from his ſins and live, that thou wouldeſt turn us unto thee, O Lord! and we ſhall be turned: Draw us, and we ſhall run after thee: Draw us with the Cords of love, and by the bands of loving kindneſs, by the powerful working of thy holy Spirit in our Souls, working contrition in our hearts, and a godly ſorrow for all our ſins, even a ſorrow to repentance, and a repentance to ſalvation never to be repented of. Lord break theſe ſtony hearts of ours by the hammer of thy Word, mollifie them by the oyl of thy Grace, ſmite theſe rockie hearts of ours by the rod of thy moſt gracious power, that we may ſhed forth rivers of tears for all the ſins we have committed. O that thou wouldſt make us grieve becauſe we cannot grieve, and to weep becauſe we cannot weep enough: That thou wouldeſt humble us more and more in the true ſight and ſenſe of all our provocations againſt thee, and that thou wouldeſt be pleaſed in the blood of Jeſus Chriſt to cleanſe us from all our ſins. Lord let his blood that ſpeaks better things than that of Abel, cry louder in thine ears for mercy, than all thoſe miſchiefs and wickedneſſes that have been done amongſt us for vengeance. O beſprinkle our polluted, but penitent Souls, in the blood of Jeſus Chriſt, that we may be clean in thy ſight, and that the light of thy countenance may ſhine upon us. Lord! be pleaſed to ſtat unto our Souls the free pardon and forgiveneſs of all our ſins; Say to each of our Souls, and ſay that we may hear it, that thou art well pleaſed with us and appeaſed towards us. Lord! do thou by thy ſpirit aſſure our ſpirits, that we are thy children, and that thou art reconciled to us in the blood of Jeſus Chriſt. To this end, O Lord! create in us new hearts, and renew right ſpirits within us: Caſt us not away from thy preſence, and take not thy holy ſpirit from us; but give us the comfort of thy help, and eſtabliſh us with thy free ſpirit. Help us to live as thy redeemed ones, and (Lord!) let us not any longer by our wicked lives deny that moſt holy faith whereof our lips have ſo long time made profeſſion, but let us that call on the name of the Lord JESUS depart from iniquity, and hate every evil way. Help us to caſt away all our tranſgreſſions, wherby we have tranſgreſſed, and make us new hearts. Carry us along through the Pilgrimage of this world, ſupplying us with all things needful for us; thy grace alone is ſufficient for us: Lord! let thy grace be aſſiſtant to us, to ſtrengthen us againſt all the tempta-

temptations of Satan, especially against those sins whereunto we are most prone either by custom or constitution, or most easily provoked. O Lord, with what affliction soever thou shalt punish, do not punish us with spiritual judgment and desertions. Give us not over to our own hearts lusts, to our vile, lewd and corrupt affections. Give us not over to hardness and impenitency of heart, but make us sensible of the least sin, and give us thy grace to think no sin little committed against thee our God, but that we may be humbled for it, and repent of it, and reform it in our lives and conversations: And Lord! keep us from presumptuous sins, O let not them get the dominion over us, but keep us innocent from the great offence, O Lord our strength and our Redeemer. And Lord! sanctifie unto us all thy methods and proceedings with us, fitting us for all farther tribulations and tryals whatsoever thou in thy divine pleasure shalt be pleased to impose upon us: Lord give us patience, constancy, resolution and fortitude to undergo them, that though we walk through the valley of the shadow of death, we may fear no ill, knowing that thou, O Lord! art merciful with us, and that with thy rod as well as with thy staff thou wilt support and comfort us: and that nothing shall be able to separate us from thy love which is in Jesus Christ *our Lord.*

And (gracious God!) we beseech thee be thou pleased to look mercifully and compassionately on thy holy Catholick Church, and grant that all they that do confess thy holy Name, may agree together in the truth of thy holy word, and live in unity and godly love. Thou hast promised, O Lord! The gates of hell shall not prevail against thy Church: Perform, we beseech thee, thy most gracious promises both to thy whole Church, and to that part of it which thou hast planted, and now afflicted in these sinful Lands and Nations wherein we live. Arise, O Lord! and have mercy upon our Sion, *for it is time that thou have mercy upon her; yea, the time is come, for thy servants think upon her stones, and it pitieth them to see her in the dust. Lord! maintain thine own cause: Rescue the light of thy Truth from all those clouds of Errors and Heresies which do so much obscure it, and let the light thereof in a free profession break forth and shine again among us, and that continually, even as long as the Sun and Moon endure.*

To this end, O Lord, bless us all, and bless Him —— the posterity —— which in Authority ought to rule over, and be above us: Bless Him in His Soul and in His Body, in his Friends

and

and in His Servants, and in His Relations: Guide Him by thy Counsel; prosper Him in all undertakings, granting Him a long, prosperous and honourable life here upon earth, and that He may attain to a blessed life hereafter. And, gracious God! look mercifully upon all our Relations, and do thou bring them to the light of thy Truth that are wandring and ready to fall. Confirm them in thy Truth that already stand: Shew some good token for good unto them, that they may rejoyce. O let thy good hand of providence be over them in all their ways: And to all orders and degrees of men that be amongst us; Give religious hearts to them that now rule in Authority over us: Loyal hearts in their Subjects towards their Supreme: And loving hearts in all men to their Friends, and charitable hearts one towards another. And for the continuance of thy Gospel among us, restore in thy good time to their several Places and Callings, and give Grace, O Heavenly Father! to all Bishops, Pastors and Curates, that they may both by their Life and Doctrine set forth thy true and lively Word, and rightly and duly administer thy holy Sacraments. And Lord! bless thy Church still with Pastors after thine own heart, with a continual succession of faithfull and able men, that they may both by Life and Doctrine declare thy Truth, and never for fear or favour back-slide or depart from the same. And give them the assistance of thy Spirit that may enable them so to preach thy word, that they may keep thy People upright in the midst of a corrupted and corrupt generation. And, good Lord! bless thy people every where with hearing ears, understanding hearts, conscientious souls, and obedient lives, especially those over whom I have had either lately or formerly a charge, that with meek heart and due reverence they may hear and receive thy holy word, truly serving thee in righteousness and holiness all the days of their lives.

And we beseech thee of thy goodness, O Lord! to comfort and succour all those that in this transitory life be in trouble, sorrow, need, sickness, or any other adversity: Lord! help the helpless, comfort the comfortless, visit the sick, relieve the oppressed, help them to right that suffer wrong, set them at liberty that are in Prison, restore the banished, and of thy great mercy, and in thy good time deliver all thy people out of their necessities: Lord! do thou of thy great mercy fit us all for our latter end, for the hour of death and the day of Judgment, and do thou in the hour of death and at the day of Jugment from thy wrath and everlasting damnation, good Lord deliver

us, through the croſs and paſſion of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

In the mean time, O Lord! teach us ſo to number our days, and me my Minutes, that we may apply our hearts to true wiſdom, that we may be wiſe unto Salvation, that we may live ſoberly, godly and righteouſly in this preſent world, denying all ungodlineſs and worldly luſts: Lord! teach us ſo to live, that we may not be afraid to die, and that we may ſo live that we may be alwaies prepared to die, that when death ſhall ſeiſe upon us it may not ſurpriſe us, but that we may liſt up our heads with joy, knowing that our redemption draws nigh, and that we ſhall be for ever happy, being aſſured that we ſhall come to the felicity of the choſen, and rejoyce with the gladneſs of the people: and give us ſuch a fulneſs of thy holy Spirit that may make us ſtedfaſt in this faith, and confirm us in this hope; endue us with patience under thy afflicting hand, and withal a chearful reſolution of our ſelves to thy divine diſpoſing, that ſo paſſing the pilgrimage of this world, we may come to the Land of Promiſe, the heavenly Canaan, *that we may reign with thee in the world to come, through* Jeſus Chriſt *our Lord; in whoſe bleſſed Name and words we further call upon thee, ſaying:*

Our Father, &c.

Let thy mighty hand and outſtretched arm, O Lord! be the defence of me and all other thy ſervants; thy mercy and loving kindneſs in Jeſus Chriſt *our ſalvation, thy true and holy Word our inſtruction, thy Grace and holy Spirit our comfort and conſolation, to the end and in the end, through* Jeſus Chriſt *our Lord.* Amen.

Dr. John

Dr. John Hewyt's *Letter to Dr.* Wilde *on Monday,* June 7. 1658. *being the day before he ſuffered death, and read by D.* Wilde *at his Funeral.*

Deareſt Brother,

" I Have no cauſe to think that you have not at any time " taken me along with you in the daily walk upon " your knees to Heaven, but I beſeech you and all my Bre- " thren to be (now eſpecially) very mindful to call upon " God for me. The more company I go withal, the more " welcome I ſhall be made. I ſhould be loth either to " leave out of my Creed, or to be left out of the benefit " of the Communion of Saints. Two are better than one. " Two or three have the advantage of a Promiſe; but to " go with a multitude to the Houſe of God, where all co- " mers are welcome, is to be aſſured beforehand of good " entertainment. Admiſſion will hardly be denyed to " any, for whom there is great opportunity of many: If " the Gate be ſhut, much knocking will open it; or if that " would not do it, united Forces would offer an Holy " violence. Many will prevail, where one alone can do " but little good, *wo unto him that is alone.*

" Therefore dear Brother, ſith it is the infirmity of our " nature, that we live not without the occaſions of giving " and taking of offence; And 'tis the corruption of our " nature that the offences we give, we write in the duſt; " Thoſe we take, we engrave in Marble: If you know, " or ſhall hear of any one either of my Brethren, or " other perſons whom by any act of ſcandal I have tempt- " ed or provoked, or leſſened, or diſturbed, to exclude me the " benefits of their charitable prayers or wiſhes, I beſeech you " beg of them from me, for me, their pardon. And let " not any private wilde-fire of paſſion put out the holy " flames of a diffuſive charity: And as for my ſelf I do here " proteſt before God that I do heartily deſire to forget " the injuries of whoſoever has treſpaſſed againſt me, " either by word or deed. And if God ſhould have been " pleaſed to have granted a longer life, I would not refuſe

" (yea I am ſtedfaſtly reſolved to ſollicite terms of Re-
" conciliation with them that have done me the wrong)
" And if my own heart do not deceive me, I would give
" my life to ſave the ſoul of any of my Chriſtian Brethren,
" and would be content to want ſome degrees of glory in
" Heaven, ſo that my very greateſt Enemies might be ſo
" happy as to have ſome. The God of Mercy ſhed forth his
" Bowels for them that ſhed my Blood, and the blood of
" Chriſt ſave, and the Spirit of Chriſt ſanctifie, and ſup-
" port him, who deſires to live no longer than to honour
" the Father, Son, and holy Ghoſt, and both living and
" dying craves yours, and the prayers of the whole Church
" for her unworthy Childe, and

Deareſt Brother

Tower, *June* 7. 1658. Morning 7. a Clock. *Your moſt affectionate Friend, Brother and Servant in Chriſt Jeſus,*

John Hewyt.

FINIS.

Books lately Printed and ſold by *J. Playford* at his Shop in the *Temple.*

THE common Pſalms in Meter, to be ſung in private or publick Congregations, to the Tunes uſed in our Church, Set forth by Henry King *late Biſhop of* Chicheſter, *in* Octavo, *the price* 2*s.*

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